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Images of Culture in Public Cult Buildings:
A Study Of The Archaeological Remains
of Late Roman and Early Byzantine Synagogues and Churches
In Ancient Palestine, Dating
From The Mid Second to the Mid Seventh Centuries C.E.

Ruth Marie Vale

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Religion

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

April 1992

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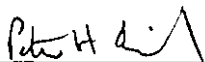
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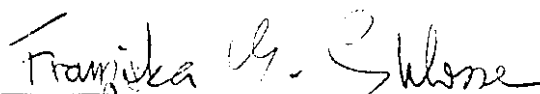
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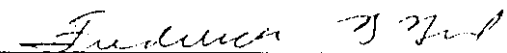
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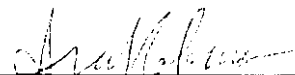
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ABSTRACT

Images of Culture in Public Cult Buildings:

A Study Of The Archaeological Remains
of Roman and Byzantine Synagogues and Churches
Of Ancient Palestine, Dating
From The Mid Second to the Mid Seventh Centuries C.E.

Ruth Marie Vale
Doctor Of Philosophy
Concordia University, 1992

Public cult buildings from the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period have traditionally been studied from within the historiographic streams of Christianity and Judaism. The ensuing character of Antique culture follows the confessional paradigm and is characterized as Christian, Pagan and miscellaneous Other. This traditional model is criticized in light of the ease with such an approach leads to confinement, misunderstanding and mishandling of archaeological data from this historical period. This thesis proposes an alternative approach and begins with a systematic study of 173 cult sites. Site data are treated to a methodical and very detailed examination of five categories of material culture, namely coin treasuries, inscriptions, elements of the site situation, architectural elements and art motifs. The dissertation examines both the configuration of sites in general and a broad selection of specific attributes. The value of this approach lies in the many new areas of research which are opened to us under this methodology.

*Two roads diverged in a yellow wood
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveller, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;*

*Then took the other, as just as fair
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,*

*And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.*

*I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a yellow wood, and I--
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference*

- Robert Frost

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No work of this sort can be started or finished without the encouragement of family and friends. For patience, a sympathetic ear and practical generosity, I owe much to my parents, Joseph and Sarah Vale. There are many others who kept faith with me. You know who you are -- to all of you, many thanks.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS	x
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
TRANSCRIPTION KEY	xii
PROBLEMATIC: ESTABLISHING THE IDENTITY OF PUBLIC CULT BUILDINGS	1
1.0 Programmatic Statement	1
1.1 Religious and Cultural Identity Among Jews and Christians in Antiquity	7
1.1.1 Places We Worship, Places We Own	10
1.2 The Problem With Grouping Cult Sites by Confession	12
1.2.1 Classifying the Site	15
1.2.1.1 Shared Religious Habits	17
1.2.2 Explaining the Site Data: Judaism and Christianity as Social Categories	19
1.2.3 Rebuilding Models of Society	25
1.2.3.1 Taxonomy and Transformations ...	26
1.2.3.2 Finding Out About Religious Practices	27
1.2.4 When We Assign Confessional Identities First	29
1.2.4.1 Simplifying The Cultural Model To Confessional Diagnosis	29
1.2.4.2 Enigmatic Diagnostic Traits	32
1.2.4.3 Anachronisms in Time and Juxtapositions of Place	36
1.3 Text and Site: An Analogous Approach	45
1.3.1 Site Data and Culture Information	47
1.3.2 Culture, Site and Text: Providing Checks and Balances	48
IMAGES OF CULTURE IN THE CULT: THEORETICAL CONCEPTS ...	50
2.0 Speaking Trans-Confessionally	50
2.1 Sorting Out The Noise In The Data	51
2.1.1 An Hypothesis About Cultural Regions ...	62
2.2 Cult Sites Within The Urban Environment	66

2.2.1	Currency Exchanges: Coin Hoards and Scatters	67
2.2.2	Transition Portals: Water and Water Containers	68
2.2.3	Permitted Disclosure Between Liturgical Spaces	70
2.3	Patterns of Exclusivity: Maintaining the Structure ..	71
2.3.1	Separating Out The Most Sacred Spaces ..	72
2.3.2	Closing Off The Sacred: The Clergy	73
2.3.3	Closing Off The Sacred: Bureaucratic Insulation	74
2.3.4	The Threshold: Embellishing the Portal	76
2.4	The Inscriptions: Structure and Transience	77
2.4.1	Hierarchical Relationships	78
2.4.2	Social Status and Donations	79
2.4.3	Linguistic Selection and Congregational Identity	80
2.4.4	Living and Dead Revered Persons	81
2.5	Common and Uncommon Knowledge: Art and Symbol	82
2.5.1	Limiting The Vocabulary: The Established Stock	82
2.5.1.2	Plain and Allegorical Meanings	83
2.5.2	Distributing Knowledge Of The Lexicon	84
2.5.2.1	Placing Art Motifs: Structured Associations	85
2.5.3	Images of Culture In The Cult	87
METHODOLOGY: FINDING PATTERNS IN THE DATA		91
3.1	Finding Patterning In Site Data	91
3.2	Using Pattern Recognition	97
3.2.1	Selecting The Sample	98
3.2.2	Measuring Site Similarity	103
3.2.3	Cluster Analysis	105
3.2.4	Taking First Steps In Cluster Analysis	108
3.3	Artifacts Parallels, Site Relationships	109
3.4	Source Materials	110
3.4.1	Excavation Reports	110
3.4.2	Collected Works	112
METHODOLOGY: TECHNICAL APPENDICES		119
Appendix 3A:	Forming The Attribute List	119
Appendix 3B:	The Attribute List	122
Appendix 3C:	The Encoding Process	145

Appendix 3D: Producing the Coefficient	149
Appendix 3E: Program SIMPLE	152
Appendix 3F Testing Significance in the Data Matrices	156
RESULTS: IMAGES OF CULTURE IN CULT BUILDINGS	158
4.1 Sorting Out The Noise In The Archaeological Record	159
4.1.1 The Culture Context of Religion	161
4.1.1.1 Uplands Configuration	168
4.1.1.2 Lowlands Configuration	178
4.1.1.3 Galilee	186
4.1.1.4 Religious Implications From The Social Context	191
4.2 Modelling Integration: The Cult Site and the Urban Environment	195
4.1.2 Studying Attributes In Particular	196
4.2.1 Currency Exchanges: Coin Hoards and Scatters	201
4.2.2 Transition Portals: Water and Water Containers	212
4.2.3 Permitted Disclosure Between Liturgical Spaces	223
4.3 Hierarchical Patterns of Exclusivity: Maintaining the Structure	236
4.3.1 Asserting High Places: The <i>Temenos</i> And The <i>Bema</i>	240
4.3.2 Closing Off The Sacred: The Clergy	247
4.3.3 Closing Off The Sacred: Bureaucratic Insulation	250
4.3.4 Establishing The Threshold: Embellishment of the Portal	253
4.4 The Inscriptions: Structure and Transience	257
4.4.1 Naming One's Place In The Hierarchy	258
4.4.2 The Cult Community: Status and Structure	263
4.4.3 Donations: Reinforcing Social Standing ...	269
4.4.4 Language Selection and The Social Hierarchy	272
4.4.5 Incorporating the Revered Dead	275
4.5 Common and Uncommon Knowledge: Art and Symbol	279
4.5.1 Distributing Knowledge Of The Lexicon ...	285
4.5.1.1 Preserving The Code: Allegorical Meanings	307
4.5.2.1 Structured Associations for Motifs	313

RESULTS: TECHNICAL APPENDICES	322
Appendix 4A: Counting Cult Sites	322
Appendix 4B: Frequencies of Churches and Synagogues According to Their Cultural Configuration	324
Appendix 4C: Identification Of Membership In Site Clusters ..	329
Appendix 4D: Sites In The Sample	334
Appendix 4E: Keyword Site Name Cross-Reference Index ...	340
CONCLUSIONS	370
5.0 Social Controls Over Knowledge	370
5.1 Site Similarity and Religious Authority	372
5.2 Ancient Religious Life In Late Roman and Early Byzantine Palestine	377
5.3 Widening Our Definitions of Religion and Culture .	379
5.4 So Where Do We Go From Here?	384
5.4.1 Further Inquiries Into Ancient Religious Life	385
5.4.2 Needed Methodological Developments ...	387
ABBREVIATIONS	389
SITE BIBLIOGRAPHY	393
GLOSSARY	535
GENERAL REFERENCES	543

LIST OF MAPS

Site Distribution In The Uplands Configuration According to Artifact Category	169
Site Distribution In The Lowlands Configuration According to Artifact Category	179
Site Distribution In The Galilee Configuration According to Artifact Category	187
Cult Building Orientation on Ancient Cult Sites	233

LIST OF TABLES

Uplands Configuration: Ranked architectural attributes-in-common (cluster identification in brackets)	170
Uplands Configuration: Ranked site situation attributes-in-common (cluster identification in brackets)	173
Uplands Configuration: Ranked inscriptions attributes-in-common (cluster identification in brackets)	175
Uplands Configuration: Ranked art motif attributes in common	177
Lowlands Configuration: Architecture: Ranked attributes-in-common	180
Lowlands Configuration: Ranked site situation attributes in common	182
Lowlands Configuration: Ranked inscription attributes	183
Lowlands Configuration: Ranked art motif attributes in common ...	185
Galilee Configuration: Ranked Architectural Attributes	188
Galilee Configuration: Ranked Situation Attributes	189
Galilee Configuration: Ranked Inscription Attributes in common ...	189
Galilee Configuration: Ranked Art Attributes	190
Coin Find Patterns, Confessional Differences by Site Clusters	202
Site Frequencies In The Use of Types of Water Containers: Confessional Differences	214
Site Frequencies In The Use of Some Types of Architectural Barriers around The Nave: Confessional Differences	224
Inscriptions: Names for Collective Entities	259
Inscriptions: Cryptic Names for God in Churches	261
Inscriptions: Appeals To God	262
Inscriptions: Names For Family Members	263
Inscriptions: Names for Professional Members	265
Inscriptions: Names for Liturgical Officers	266
Inscriptions: Names of Civic Officials	267
Inscriptions: Named Professionals	270
Images in Ancient Cult Art	290
Art Motifs: Frequency of Motif Types	292
Art Motifs: Frequency of Vegetable Motifs	294
Art Motifs: Animal Forms	295

Art Motifs: Bird Forms	295
Art Motifs: Tool Forms	297
Art Motifs: Human Forms	298
Art Motifs: Location In The Site	305
Art Motifs: Frequencies Of Iconographic Selection In Mosaics	314
Art Motifs: Iconographic Selection In Cult Site Features	315
Inscriptions: Location In Cult Site Features	317

LIST OF FIGURES

Site Description: From Words and Sentences to Code Strings	146
Site Description: Reading Coded Strings	147
Reading The Coding Form	149
Calculating the Similarity Coefficient	150
Measures of Reliability for Similarity Coefficient Data	157
Population And Sample Statistics for Cult Sites	322

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

Greek

A	α	-	A	a	I	ι	-	I	i	P	ρ	-	R	r
B	β	-	B	b	K	κ	-	K	k	Σ	σ	-	S	s
Γ	γ	-	G	g	Λ	λ	-	L	l	T	τ	-	T	t
Δ	δ	-	D	d	M	μ	-	M	m	Υ	υ	-	U	u
E	ε	-	E	e	N	ν	-	N	n	Φ	φ	-	Ph	ph
Z	ζ	-	Z	z	Ξ	ξ	-	X	x	X	χ	-	Ch	ch
H	η	-	E	e	O	ο	-	O	o	Ψ	ψ	-	PS	ps
Θ	θ	-	O	o	Π	π	-	P	p	Ω	ω	-	O	o

Hebrew

K	-	'	ט	-	t	y	-	'
כ	-	b	י	-	y	פ	-	f
ג	-	g	ק	-	k	ץ	-	ts
ד	-	d	ל	-	l	ך	-	q
ה	-	h	מ	-	m	ר	-	r
ו	-	v	נ	-	n	ש	-	sh; s
ז	-	z	ס	-	s	ט	-	t
ח	-	ch						

CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEMATIC: ESTABLISHING THE IDENTITY OF PUBLIC CULT BUILDINGS

1.0 Programmatic Statement

On the floor of an ancient building at Hammath Tiberias, high on a rock-strewn terrace overlooking the Sea of Galilee, there is a finely crafted expanse of mosaic, glowing with colour and alive with the implied movement of human, animal, crustacean and mythic figures. Further to the east, at Caesarea, plants and animals inhabit a brightly coloured floor framed in intricate panels bright with a profusion of guilloche, rosettes, intertwining in patterned tesserae. If these were domestic homes, villas, or royal palaces, the subject matter or the high quality of workmanship in these floors would pass without significant remark among those whose writings make up what we know of the history of the period. However, this is an ancient public religious site and, furthermore, the first has been claimed as a synagogue while the other is a church. Instinctively we turn to ancient rabbinic sources for the first and ecclesiastical sources for the second. In both cases, we find ourselves entirely unprepared to fully explain or understand the rich adornment on these sites and on many cult sites like them.

Our understanding of ancient religious sites has been marinated in the sense of historical continuity and social identification which prevails between

modern Western Civilization and ancient Christianity and Judaism. In rushing to identify ancient cult buildings as either Christian or Jewish (or, alternatively, Pagan) we focus all too quickly upon those characteristics of each site which relate directly to the literary remains of one or more of these traditions. If this approach is taken at the outset, we are oriented to view these three now distinct bodies of sites in isolation from one another. However, explaining the site in this way, so that it relates only to the literary remains of major Western religious traditions, creates a major problem of interpretation for which there are several dimensions.

The overwhelming impulse to nominate them Christian or Jewish complicates our search for understanding of Late Roman and Early Byzantine religious cult places and when a site is neither, causes us to minimize or dismiss the site as artifactual *miscellanea*. Scholars of ancient religion, and excavators who seek to gain attention (and funding) for their work, must respond to incredible pressure to identify and then to bind cult sites exclusively and forever to one or another respective religious tradition.

Once a site is committed to a tradition, scholars have tended to limit their attention to only a small and sharply delimited proportion of the data which is available on the site. Specifically, they focus on those data which closely link the site and its former population to the known religious documents of either Judaism, Christianity or "paganism" as the case may be. The great majority of the data for any one site is ignored and consequently, we probably ignore much

of the evidence which might teach us something about the use of these sites in the religious and general lives of those who occupied them.

In particular, we miss entirely those aspects of experience which unified ancient religious life and gave meaning to culturally-defined religious performances, whether they were conducted in a church or a synagogue or some other religious building. Specifically, we tend to miss similarities and correlations in characteristics of sites which may obtain across the so-called categories of "church", "synagogue" and "temple". These cross-confessional correlations may indeed be more, or at least as significant as, the similarities between sites within any one confessional tradition. In addition, we miss the degree to which these sites, whether Jewish, Christian or "other" give evidence of, or express, a common religious culture within which we find Judaism, Christianity and "paganism".

Finally, we tend to miss other bases for classification which do not coincide with the confessional categorization but which can shed considerable light on why some sites are the way they are. There is much of ancient cultural and religious life in the Palestine of this period for which being a Jew or a Christian was incidental. For example, regional cultural differences are reflected in the evidence and their configurations appear to be independent of whether one deals with "synagogues" or "churches".

Therefore, in this dissertation, we begin our discussion of the religious life of the period from a trans-confessional footing, a viewpoint from which we

seek to expose some of the common ground between the Christian and the Jew of textual history. A number of separate but related studies are carried out on a common set of artifactual data. These studies are built with a framework for a model of society and religion that will address the problems of interpretation of archaeological remains. The categories of social and religious identity which we use are transconfessional and are intended to enhance our understanding of ancient religious life in these cult buildings.

When we take a trans-confessional point of view, a close look at the artifacts found on ancient cult sites graphically illustrates the axiom that "life is complicated." In particular, ancient cult life was a dynamic, multi-faceted pursuit for which no simple explanation of its remains will suffice. There may have been up to three different regions, in ancient Palestine, where the nature of the building and its furnishings indicate that different cultural perspectives were operative in the religious communities of ancient Palestine. These regions do not correspond to historical or confessional boundaries. Each region can be described in detail according to its own unique artifact profile.

There is surprising order and stability in the design and furnishing of these cult sites. Apart from their regional arrangements, the artifact profiles of these ancient cult sites replicate a carefully regulated environment where exclusivity and hierarchy are moderated by opportunity for movement between categories. Cult sites may have been involved in the local imperial currency market, but many were not. The *bema*, or platform, proved to be an integral

part of an hierarchical design that separated holy spaces from more ordinary sectors of the building. In such an environment, water and water containers are thresholds with transitional and transformational qualities. The balancing act between opening the mundane (accessible public spaces) and circumscribing the sacred (forbidden, private spaces) is played out in the regulated architectural patterns which provide the means for cult staff to sharply limit access by ordinary persons.

There is much work which can be carried on from the foundation laid by the research reported in this dissertation. The areas for future work arise, first, from the methodology where there is great need to refine and extend analytical techniques which, here, are experimental with respect to cult sites in the ancient Near East. Secondly, throughout the dissertation, we propose a whole series of hypotheses about ancient religious life. These are initiatives which arise as a result of working from a trans-confessional perspective. Their exhaustive study will take a considerable effort as the information to continue becomes available.

In order to answer questions about the meaning of regional differences, we need scientific tools to measure chronological change within regions and between groups of sites. Comprehensive explorations of artifact attribute correlations will be an essential source of information. They represent a logical next step to this research. Careful, consistent and systematic study of the artifacts may permit us to reduce attribute variables from a comprehensive list

to the bare essentials. For example, the artifactual correlates to pools, cisterns and other temporary water containers may include external staff facilities and a nearby commercial urban environment while other attributes may be irrelevant and can therefore be disregarded. With such a reduced catalogue, analysis using statistical techniques such as cross-tabs, factor analysis and multidimensional scaling may uncover relationships which will help us to explain what we have found.

In order to proceed with such studies, or to draw further correlations between regional distributions and artifact attributes, site excavation reports need to be improved in the quantity and quality of information they publish. In particular, more information is needed regarding the architectural layout of the site and its relationship to the surrounding annexes and structures, topography and natural features, the urban setting and the details of astronomical orientation. We need to know more about coin find-patterns besides the average and approximate date of the collection (especially complete descriptions of hoards, vs. scatters, cities of mint, usual territories and routes of distribution, etc.). With respect to architecture, we need to know more about the artifacts which are associated with upper-level galleries. Also, much work is needed in the area of chronological periodization of these sites as a whole as well as their building phases and artifactual types. Although periods of one hundred years have served for historical research, a much more refined system is critical to archaeological questions of artifact change. Only by careful study

of such evidence can we begin to follow the process of culture change. Finally, we need to extend the question of systematic criteria for identification of cult buildings to their larger context of public buildings.

There are many things which we do not know, but this research begins the process of investigating the evidence of cult sites according to transconfessional categories. We may find, in the end, that being Christian or Jew was less important than knowing how and where to worship in the community where a traveller found him or herself. What we do know is that the religious structure of the day persisted long enough to lay a foundation for an entire civilization.

1.1 Religious and Cultural Identity Among Jews and Christians in Antiquity

In the final centuries of Antiquity and the early years of the Byzantine period, Jews and Christians were in the process of crystalizing religious and ethnic identities which would subsequently and permanently mark the character of western civilization. As the character of those identities coincided with emerging social institutions, adherents of Judaism and Christianity formulated religious ideologies which were intertwined with the economic, political and cultural realities of the time. During the process of that formation, from the mid-third century to the mid-seventh, the area known initially as Roman Palestine apparently underwent sufficient social change that historians have subsequently

located a cultural horizon in the fourth century as is evident in the nomenclature of historical periodization. The horizon between these historical periods meets at the mid-point in these five centuries. That (culturally speaking) arbitrary horizon is then deemed to be the watershed between the waning of the Roman Empire and the ascendancy of Byzantine hegemony.

With respect to the religious traditions of Judaism and Christianity, the period before and after that watershed has been represented as a time of visceral struggle for the right to assert social authority on political and religious matters. This centuries-long social conflict has been portrayed as the adolescent struggle of the Christian church against its spiritual enemies: the mother faith of Judaism, pagan remnants and the multitudes of heresies which threatened to pollute orthodox doctrine. Thus, in the view of some, the Christian church grew, during this period, from a shaking and frightened band of former disciples facing the aftermath of the crucifixion in Jerusalem to an assertive, pervasive, ecclesiastical and political bureaucracy that brought the entire Mediterranean world to collective obeisance in a few short centuries. In the view of others, and in contrast to the apparent grasping after domineering, temporal power by the Roman Church, those remaining in the 'mother faith' of Judaism are said to have turned their concerns progressively inward. This minority thus found itself defending its ever more precarious social position while fostering the intellectual and spiritual strength of its members, and particularly, a leading class of learned professionals.

These macroscopic panoramic images of epic struggle are, however, on an immense scale. They are much too large for us to see the fine and minute detail which constitutes the course of ordinary lives and which memorabilia make up the detritus of archaeological sites. It is that detail, however, which enables us to understand better the daily course of shared religious life for both Christians and Jews and to that purpose, the generic cult building is taken here as the focal point of study. In both religious traditions in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, worship was carried out, at least in part, as a social activity in a public cult setting. By examining remains of these sites in great detail, we can look more closely at the activity which constituted the religious life of the group.

Late Roman and Early Byzantine culture was a vast and colourful matrix of social activity inhabited by a multitude of local communities wherein the rules of interaction are complex and varied significantly from one micro-environment to another. With the exception of those who preferred the isolated hermitage, both Jews and Christians would have been able to function socially only if they could remain connected to that network. To be involved socially, in any sense, meant that they operated within the immediate urban social, familial, economic, political and ideological systems which formed the networks of their cultural identities.

1.1.1 Places We Worship, Places We Own

Places and forms of worship are artifacts of a religious identity. When cultic activity is assigned a place designed expressly for that purpose, and that place is situated within the environment, both physical and social, of a local community, those buildings become an artifact of that community and of the group sharing the worship experience within the structure. Cult buildings are, therefore, a complex mixture of religious and cultural imagery, and any reading of the building as an artifact requires an equally complex field of referents.

One of those referents is the immediate social context, i.e. the smaller cultural universe which might typically be held together by the values shared in a religious and/or ethnic group. As a class or type of social organization, the religious or ethnic group is normally recognized in terms of meeting practices as well as general diagnostic features (i.e., dress, dialect, customs) and a shared basic value orientation which colors social evaluation for the members (Barth, 1969:13). Confessional groups may be forms of voluntary associations with multi-ethnic or inter-religious characteristics. Variation may exist in the exercise of observance among families and individuals so that in the same community there may be very different concepts of exactly what function ought to be primary in their House of Worship (i.e. a shrine, a community centre or an extended family dwelling), a basic set of structured interests is shared by the religious community. That shared understanding mirrors the nature of things, authoritatively maintains the inner structure of the group and establishes

the social boundaries between the membership within and the world without (Geertz, 1973:88-125, Berger, 1976).

The cult building, as the shared, central location of community for a religious and ethnic group, becomes the ideal place to represent that common structure. A close examination of the details of the setting for worship yields evidence of the structures obtaining in the religious group. The cult building is thus evidence of the group's internal structure, but it may also be evidence of congruencies or linkages between the ethnic microcosm and the larger social milieu. In this way, the cult site reiterates and confirms the cosmic map of the group, and in the process echoes back auspicious meaning and religious identity.

Such a message would have had both its internal, private value as well as an external, or public, aspect. Not only would members recognize it as their own, but outsiders would also be able to recognize the structure as a cult building that is 'not ours' and 'belonging to group x.' The cult building is, then, both a worship chamber and an audience hall suitable for the display of objects, shapes and forms which embody social definitions. Framed by an enclosure or other property demarcation, these sites would iterate routes and degrees of accessibility between the public streets of the urban centre and the private arena of group worship activities.

Cult buildings can be found clustered about the squares, streets and marketplaces of any provincial urban centre in the Late Roman and Early

Byzantine periods. The appearance, decoration and furnishing of each of the structures made it a vehicle of communication, leading the observer to associate the building with some aspect of the local urban mosaic. Like the city squares and urban streets on which these structures were located, the cult site stood as a public and material statement, to town citizens and visitors alike, about its religious and civic identity. Wherever such matters touched on the questions of religious conviction, the worship site also provided a forum for political debate and displays of civic loyalty and for celebratory and mourning ceremonials related to stages of life. As the stage for ceremonials expressing interwoven civic, cultic (possibly 'sectarian') and familial alliances, the cult site is a major symbolic vehicle for expressing social identity.

1.2 The Problem With Grouping Cult Sites by Confession

If, as we have said, the cult site is integrally connected to all aspects of its local urban environment, then religious and ethnic identities, and the cult sites which embody them, must be represented by a complex and culturally-related web of possible significances. That web is much more complex than can be described by the straight-forward alternatives in the three-part culture paradigm normally used by historians for this period. In this view, three alternatives describe different parts of society and culture during the period: Christian, Jew and Pagan (usually a collection of miscellaneous 'others'). This

'confessional' classification is, in effect, the primary and often only referent of the cultural significances of the site¹.

Confessional classification, however, is only partially definitive of culture. Ethnic groups, whether religious or not, are sub-sets of cultural structures, integrated and connected to the larger unit. The culture system provides the larger matrix in which the latter exists. The ethnic group acts within cultural parameters, deriving significances from or in reaction to that context. Therefore, in order to gain a picture of the structures of worship and identity which shaped the lives of those who worshipped within these ancient buildings, it is necessary to define the matrix, the larger cultural terms of reference within which the religious or ethnic group operates.

As we have said, public cult buildings (among them are those called churches and synagogues) which survive from Antiquity have traditionally been studied, examined and interpreted within confessional traditions. In doing so, we carelessly associate individual cult sites structures with abstract religious communal identifiers and call their occupants, respectively, "Christian" or "Jewish". Our description and interpretation of the religious habits of these occupants are subsequently explored on a separate track. Instead of drawing from site evidence, we follow the text-based, historiographic streams of

¹ I use the term 'confessional' because I could find none better to express the specific concept of religious-ethnic groups who identify their membership as acting and speaking out of loyalty to a religious tradition which is based in linguistic utterance: words which might be sung, spoken or written according to Christian or Jewish sacralities.

Christianity and Judaism. In the process, we interpret a selected array of artifacts within an exceedingly limited and grossly defined framework of religious constructions which are not themselves whole cultural entities.

With respect to public cult sites known through archaeological excavation, our problematic can be distilled into four arguments against the confessional approach to Late Roman and Early Byzantine cult sites²:

1. Most archaeological data found on sites are *prima facie* unrelated to confessional distinctions and sites cannot, on their evidence alone, be so classified.
2. The practice of so grouping and subsequently explaining cult sites in terms of inter-confessional traits tends to ignore or minimize social and ethnic differences in one or both of the confessions between which comparison is being made. Social and ethnic difference may exist in patterns completely at odds to the lines drawn by confessional identity and its claims of orthodox and heretical observance.
3. Although we have begun to rebuild cross-cultural taxonomic models of society in an effort to understand the meaning of transmitted religious texts, there are aspects of religious practice about which the texts have been silent, leading to an incomplete understanding of the sites available for study.
4. With archaeologists typically under the imperative to assign confessional identities, the task of intense, detailed decipherment of the social and historical facts buried in complex structures of surviving site data has suffered.

A confessional understanding of culture, by itself, is unable to lead us from site data to an understanding of the religious and cultural life of Jews and Christians in Antiquity. In this approach, the archaeological data are not normally given a

²Our data are taken specifically from sites in Roman and Byzantine Palestine, 250-635 C.E.

systematic treatment nor is careful attention paid to the full range of detail which is available to us. Such an approach has led us to simplified cultural models, over-reliance on a few text-identified diagnostic markers, excluded sites and selective interpretation of narrow themes in the site repertoires. In response, the work which follows is intended to address the need for balance in our understanding of the ancient cult life.

1.2.1 Classifying the Site

Most archaeological data found on cult sites cannot, on site evidence alone, be named according to confessional distinctions and therefore those theological systems, whether Judaism or Christianity, will not provide direct pointers to artifactual meaning. Assuming a direct relationship, and then making claims to one or the other, imposes limitations on our data and stifles the honest search for religious and cultural meaning. The practice:

- does not allow for the licit use (frequent or casual) of a clearly identified cult site by people of alternative religious confession;
- tends to ignore or play down the importance of symbols and artifacts shared in common across religious traditions;
- minimizes or overlooks cult practices for which there is archaeological evidence but not textual information;
- ignores or overlooks possible shared symbols used to represent ethnic or regional cultural commonalities.

For the excavator, relationships between the material objects and their cultural nodes are inferred. However, the heuristic models under which such inference is made emerges from a variety of scholarly disciplines, not just those anchored to historic religious traditions. Attaching those sites and their artifactual record to emergent cultural entities is a complex building process resting for the most part on indirect evidence. Thus, as much as it would simplify matters, there is no direct evidence that leads from cult site artifacts to historic confessional entities. Cult sites do not emerge from excavations complete with confessional labels.

If the archaeologist is, before all else, confronted with the imperative to establish the singular confessional identity of entire sites, the site itself loses its priority as a source of discovered data. Should the archaeologist submit to that imperative and on the basis of indirect evidence claim a direct relationship between site and confessional identity, the interpretive questions continue with the confessional agenda rather than returning to the site. The development of inferences leading from the site finds to culture models is narrowed toward a single aspect of cultural activity, namely the narrow parochial perspective of a single religious and/or ethnic group.

However, archaeological finds relate to a wide range of cultural activity including food, clothing, shelter, inter-personal relationships, recreation, health and organized society (Joukowsky, 1980:243) and religion represents only one aspect of the latter. Work begins, then, with the classification of finds according

to their physical form and to the ensuing patterns of discovery on the site. The iteration of patterns throughout the artifactual repertoire lead the excavator to the formation of chronological and regional material-culture categories and only from this level, can we proceed to inferences about cultural activity.

An approach which respects the nature of site data therefore requires that cult sites are first described and defined by their material culture database and the patterning therein. Talk about religion begins much further along in the interpretive process. It requires sifting out those pieces of information which may have direct or indirect religious implications from classified artifacts and related site data. That sifting process must be controlled by culture models which provide information about religion but nevertheless offer respect for the broad range of cultural referents typical for artifact repertoires.

1.2.1.1 Shared Religious Habits

A broadly-based cultural perspective, which does not interpret the artifactual remains with reference to mutually exclusive categories (whether Judaism or Christianity), recognizes that there may be cultural traits which have religious significance and which are shared across confessional boundaries. Thus Christians, Jews and others selected particular elements as generic to houses of worship of any persuasion. These commonalities may range from the presence of water vessels (called by various names, i.e. *mikveh*, baptistry) and niches, which may house a statue or *torah* scroll, to the common use of

floor plans appropriate to cultic functions or the particular artistic representations of geometric shapes.

The problem arises when these elements-in-common are narrowly interpreted in a parochial, confessional sense and, compounding the problem, are assigned meaning entirely loosened from the moorings of the local culture context of the site. For example, the niche is a ubiquitous attribute of many ancient cult sites, but it has been claimed by advocates of individual traditions:

One of the principle architectural elements of ancient synagogues was the niche in which the ark stood. This niche appears frequently in architectural remains and in Jewish art in Israel and the diaspora (Hachili 1976:43).

Although the niche is "not found in every synagogue, especially in Galilee," the niche is, in synagogues, a Torah niche, "sacred" or "holy" in implication, and Jewish by definition. No reference is made to the many niches and apses which occur in the then-contemporary Houses of Worship belonging to Christian or numerous 'Pagan' traditions throughout the Eastern Mediterranean area. Nor is it pointed out that all of these religious groups have in common the use of a niche which might symbolize an entry or exit point between areas of active (liturgical arenas) and passive (places for storage of revered objects) cult spaces.

Thus the artistic and architectural features of cult buildings (in this case, niches), which would in other archaeological settings be treated as a single class, are, for these cult buildings, made two distinct categories on the basis of

their confessional distinction. The continuities which obtain across those confessional boundaries are obscured and lead to a portrait of Late Antique culture which is skewed in the direction of confessionally isolated, mentalist³ communities, identified through the polemic debates preserved in the pages of historical literary texts.

1.2.2 Explaining the Site Data: Judaism and Christianity as Social Categories

The practice of so grouping and subsequently explaining sites solely in terms of confessional traits begs the question of whether one adequately understands the religious and cultural lives of cult site populations. It assumes that cult life was ordered according some great divide between Christians and Jews and that religious meanings of archaeological data from cult sites ought always to be formulated relative to this classification.

Goodenough's Jewish Symbols In the Graeco Roman Period, demonstrates the degree to which the archaeological evidence is selected and re-arranged under the impact of the confessional approach. His theoretical perspective is framed entirely within a parochial and mentalist definition of society. He formulates a social category (mystical) within a textual confessional tradition (rabbinic Judaism) and further restricts this entity to terms drawn from

³ I refer here to tendency to see culture exclusively in terms of the history of (rational) thought, and the transmission of ideas or dogmatic formulas.

his systematic interpretation of the preserved texts of Philo, a first-century Alexandrian philosopher. He then further steeps the whole in his own application of Freudian and Jungian psychological concepts. The whole construction is framed entirely in confessionally-biased abstractions which have little grounding in the observable traits of actual and ordinary human behaviour, whether antique or modern:

"....the hellenization of Christianity had been made possible because Jews in the pagan world had opened doors through which pagan notions had come into their Judaism; that when such Jews became Christians these notions were already at home in their minds as a part of their Judaism itself, and so at once became a part of their Christianity." (Goodenough 1953(1):6).

Goodenough briefly acknowledges the abstractness of social categories in the confessional paradigm (Goodenough 1953(1):62-63, see esp. n. 10), but he asks his reader to "...let me beg the question for the moment and say that the art seems to me definitely a part of Judaism but to have no real place in rabbinic Judaism." (Goodenough 1953(1):23). The question is finally picked up again in the summary volume (Goodenough 1953(12):6-9), where "Judaism" is described as a kind of "loyalty to the People"⁴. He then turns to a defence of

⁴ Goodenough's Jewish "people" are a group practising intermarriage, circumcision and loyalty to a monotheistic covenant religion of the Bible (**Symbols** 1953(12):7). Ethnic characteristics of endogamy, bodily mutilation, and a superior self-image are common throughout the ethnographic library and do not decisively describe Goodenough's social category. The Dene (aboriginal peoples of Alaska and the Yukon), described themselves as "the People," traditionally considering their equally aboriginal Athapaskan neighbours to be slightly less than human. (Watkins 1977, 1965).

Philo as a member of historic Judaism, while disparaging the necessity of a "terminological approach" to the definition of that community. Clearly, Goodenough's "mystical" Judaism is an explicitly defined subset of the traditional and mentalist category. He thereby firmly reiterates the tripartite confessional paradigm.

By standing within the confessional paradigm he is necessarily forced to confront its library. He is in agreement with the view that rabbis or rabbinism were antagonistic and perhaps unrelated to his "hellenized Jews", nevertheless, he proceeds philologically and *a priori* into the literature of that period:

Our concern is to see what archaeological evidence has to tell us about Judaism. But archaeological evidence can properly be used only after verbal evidence has been exhausted, or at least in conjunction with it." (Goodenough 1953(1):33)

His accounting of his methodology, (Goodenough 1953(4):3-24), begins with a thorough discussion of the rabbinic evidence relative to his quest "to evaluate the symbols of Jewish cult, a relatively easier problem than that of evaluating the pagan symbols used by Jews" (Goodenough 1953(4):viii). Thus philology and its literary foundation presents, in his view, a necessary background for archaeology. The texts are an essential platform from which to conjecture meaning, and without which archaeology has been a:

...conjectural science whose conclusions achieve only that degree of verisimilitude which the ingenuity and eloquence of their authors can give them.⁵

This in spite of the fact that Goodenough's entire work is built on the premise that "only one body of evidence speaks directly for popular Judaism in the Greco-Roman world", namely the "archaeological data":

Into the Torah-true lives of the great mass of Jewish devotees...there palpably came an amazing use of pagan art forms. (**Symbols** 1953(4):25)

By so adopting the confessional framework, his archaeological intent is immediately limited and he is diverted to the texts and from there to a selection of "Jewish" artifacts consisting of objects illustrating a "few well-known motifs." These motifs, specifically the menorah, Torah shrine, scroll, *ethrog* and lulab and the *shofar*, are deemed "the most important...". He has set aside others which would not, in his view, have had "symbolic meaning" (and would therefore have been "merely decorative"), for his collection is:

...a conspectus of that art of the Jews of the period which can in any way be considered symbolic. Thus I shall omit or merely refer to designs such as geometric mosaics and bring in such matters as the plan of the structure of tombs, the shapes of lamps at various periods and the architectural plans of synagogues only as they seem relevant to my purpose. For I am writing an account of Jewish symbolism, not of Jewish art as such. (**Symbols** 1:62)

⁵ Francis Cumont, cited in "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum." by Campbell Bonner, **Hesperia** XX 1951:301-345. Francis Cumont (1868-1947), was a leading authority on Greek astrology and Mithraism, who led several archaeological expeditions in Asia Minor and Northern Syria at the turn of the century. Cited in **Symbols** 1953(4):26.

He then proceeds with a polemicized, anti-rabbinic and mentalist mixture of philosophy and universalist (Freudian-Jungian) psychology to explain the abstraction thereby created, his "mystical" Judaism. The archaeological evidence is illustrative, not so much of his particular rendition of hellenized Judaism, but rather of the *lacunae* between the familiar subjects of archaeological research and his interpretation of them⁶.

Goodenough follows the same course as have other historians of Judaism in mining rabbinic documents⁷ for information about synagogue worship and symbolism in Late Antiquity. Drawn in the wake of debate are hypotheses regarding the relative normative status of dogma and practice in early rabbinic Judaism. These are set in opposition to a more liberal "hellenized" Judaism. Such hypotheses are then snowballed into still larger and more general theories about the nature of the synagogues and their supposed forms of worship. From these epic portraits are postulated 'institutional' relations between the personified abstractions known to us as Early Judaism

⁶ For example, the social dynamics of urban life, kinship relationships, redistribution systems, and subsistence technology are entirely unrelated to his description, either addressed in peripheral fashion, or not addressed at all

⁷ In spite of his anti-rabbinic polemic, Goodenough, (**Symbols** 4:3-24) provides a thorough discussion of the rabbinic evidence, and uses it where it is convenient to his argument (Smith, 1967:62). However, particularly with respect to rabbinic texts, the task of penetrating their confessionally-valued a-historical veneer to correlate anecdotes, biographies or urban units to specific points in space and time, and then to sites is fraught with difficulties so grave that many have dismissed the possibility. See for example, the problems raised by Neusner (1980) and Green (1979).

and Byzantine Christianity. Concurrently, scholars reach down from these lofty heights to selectively cull excavation reports of particular cultic structures for supportive and illustrative data. In this view, scholars possess substantial, although episodic and primarily literary, evidence concerning cult life.

However, this approach requires that we assume ancient synagogue architecture and artwork are best explained in reference to the literature of (rabbinic) Judaic communities and that synagogue communities were fundamentally different from Christian communities, who used churches and were ruled by bishopric and papal pronouncements. In so doing, we have accepted the primary division of culture into three abstract and mentalist categories by which we study the confessional implications of selected objects within the parameters of specific bodies of literature. This tripartite division of culture is, then the primary device by which modern scholars explain the significance of public cult structures to religious action and sentiment in Late Antiquity. By this, public cult buildings in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods must be either synagogues, churches or temple shrines⁸. However this pervasive use, of this social map of isolated and self-interested

⁸ In order to undertake a study of the symbolic implications of artwork in cult structures, whether we accept the tripartite cultural paradigm or not, we are forced by the secondary literature to examine three different fields of academic study. Ecclesiastical Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism and Roman Paganism (a plethora of cults including Dionysiac, Mithraic, Serapian groups, etc) provide three directions for interpretation of the symbolism of their respective art traditions in the context of three different histories, all of which must meet at their interfaces according to the rubrics of interdisciplinary research.

communities, perpetually warring for social dominance, stifles the inferential process and limits the allowable explanations for artifacts discovered on cult sites to their respective parochial tradition.

1.2.3 Rebuilding Models of Society

This simplified, exclusivist social map, originating in and reiterated by the surviving library of the period, has been recently superseded by the development of cross-cultural *taxa*. These systems have been developed by scholars who are in pursuit of the social milieu of individual biblical, midrashic, and patristic texts as well as the multitude of marginal texts from the classical heritage. Students of these texts can now bring evidence to bear on an increasing range of social and cultural models. For example, Lightstone (1984, 1989) has been investigating the dynamics of divine authority while Fiorenza (1985) talks about the process of patriation of ecclesiastical bodies. Meeks (1983) has sought to establish definitions, boundaries and a constitution for the community of Antioch, known primarily through New Testament texts⁹.

⁹ These texts inform us about social and religious orthodoxy rather than culture as a whole. Textual editors in any tradition would employ a necessary parochialism that directed perceptions of readers toward that which is held to be proper and appropriate according to the accepted social norms. By transforming the character of canonical sources to reflect their view of social norms, orthodoxy in both Judaism (Stone 1984) and Christianity (Fiorenza, 1985) has been able to determine the range of material that survived, direct what parts could and would be studied and by whom, and reinforce guidelines on what questions could be asked of it. Saunders (1977:1-50) has described this phenomenon in terms of "distortions" and has explained clearly the effect of such theological prejudices in

1.2.3.1 Taxonomy and Transformations

The *lacunae* in our knowledge of the social matrix as it derives from canonical texts is evident in the diminution of the role of marginal habits, groups and persons in history. The concurrent exaltation of accepted positions enhances and reinforces the necessary view of orthodoxy as a chronologically contiguous, historically unchallenged, "integrated, seamless whole". As a result, there are aspects of religious practice for which our knowledge is incomplete or lacking altogether, i.e. mourning and other rites related to the activities of women in the cult liturgy. Thus the *lacunae* in the traditional paradigm has been met by a movement away from the framework of the texts themselves toward comparative work between the texts and eventually to a social and cultural agenda drawn from outside the world of the texts.

If we are moving away from the taxonomic systems of the individual texts in order to explain and interpret their own larger social and cultural matrix (Lightstone, 1984:5-6), it would appear that our taxonomies of cult sites must also be reviewed. The confessional paradigm is synthesized and simplified for general use but it is nevertheless a form of *taxa* internal to the worlds of the texts. It is therefore insufficient for the classifications of an entirely separate body of evidence, namely the material remains.

the formulation of a textual religious tradition and in the interpretation of its sources.

1.2.3.2 Finding Out About Religious Practices

The material culture may be able to offer evidence of activities outside the record of the texts but it cannot do so if its referent field is, *a priori*, restricted. Such restrictions limit us to applying parochial formations, embodied in any one or more of the canons, to the analysis of cult site artifacts. These parochial opinions have been overcome only as significant progress has been made in studying the social matrix beyond the perspective of the canonical traditions.

That process means studying the texts in great detail. The intensive studying of both Christian and Jewish canonical texts in modern times has arisen from the publication, since the early nineteenth century, of first editions, annotated translations and a multiplicity of introductions, commentaries and bibliographies. Scholars have repeatedly incorporated their study of forms, pericope and linguistic parallels into continually changing syntheses under the influence of source criticism, form criticism and other revolutionary approaches (Nickelsburg 1986:2-10) which lit the flames of debate between modern textual scholarship and the faith community. However, the site material has not been treated to the same kind of scrutiny. Beyond the simplest of descriptions, usually of only the most remarkable of artifacts, the average scholar or layperson is relatively uninformed about the myriad of details by which we are truly informed of life on ancient cult sites. Instead, the fruits of text-based

labour have traditionally dominated site materials and artifact analysis is superficial and derivative of the confessional paradigm. We are prevented, thereby, from understanding the *minutae* of encoded site materials and therefore have yet to bring text and site into fruitful dialogue.

In order to complete the cultural matrix and to give recognition to the emerging complexity of the data, whether textual or archaeological, scholars of ancient Judaism and early Christianity have begun to adopt categories having cross-cultural utility. The list of possibilities is growing quickly: Among them are kinship and other units of association (Neusner (1981) uses the units of household, collegia) and intermediary roles between the realms of order and chaos. In his study of mediation between Sacred and Profane realms in Graeco-Roman Diaspora, Lightstone (1984) explores the images of the holy man and the dead. Explanations for bodily mutilations, justification of dietary restrictions have been found by Douglas (1966) in sources as diverse as Catherine of Siena and the biblical Book of Leviticus. Other areas of research include the ordering of liturgical days and seasons, the preservation of canonical textual and other resources, rites of passage, terms of exclusion and inclusion, maintenance of social hierarchies, encoded values in symbolic structures and the cohesion of cosmological maps (Smith, 1973). Our knowledge of these elements of religion for the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods is partial and has only begun to be satisfied by such research within canonical texts.

1.2.4 When We Assign Confessional Identities First

As we have said previously, associating individual sites only with particular cultural, religious and/or ethnic identities (i.e. Christianity and Judaism) is problematic when we want to interpret site materials. Unless we set aside these traditional culture-identifiers, we are faced with the oversimplification of cultural models, over-reliance on simplified diagnostic markers, and selective use of certain sites to support a limited agenda.

The hazards of continuing with the traditional model are illustrated in the following section which takes as its theme a favourite aspect of discussion in the secondary literature on public cult sites. The discussion demonstrates the misalignments which render the confessional paradigm inappropriate for archaeological evidence of cult sites.

1.2.4.1 Simplifying The Cultural Model To Confessional Diagnosis

Under the traditional model, the complexities inherent in any set of cultural dynamics are simplified and generalized. A site is either Christian or Jewish and within these primary categories, society is reduced to a subset within theological ideology. In the case of Jewish material, for example, the structure of society may be simplified to include only two parties--the rabbis (and would-be rabbis) and the people of the land, with peripheral and often disparaging reference to the unlearned and other heretics. Explanations of

complex systems of exchange are reduced to a minor point in the rabbinic theological agenda. The rich and colourful language of symbolic forms is made dependent on the same agenda and the rabbinic meanings automatically exclude all others.

The explanation for the use of figures in synagogues exemplifies this tendency to be content with simplified cultural models. In recognition of the obvious presence of figures in synagogues, most admit that there were major symbolic "spheres of meaning" which the Jew would necessarily have been aware, and then proceed to discuss the implications of images in synagogues as though they were exclusively and thoroughly Jewish¹⁰. The cultural dynamics are simplified as the rabbinic agenda takes centre stage¹¹ and the ensuing discussion of the problem of figures continues as if these major spheres were peripheral or even excluded from the dominant reference field of

¹⁰ The very remarkable and unusual site at Dura Europos in Syria has been used by many to argue for the use of portraiture in Jewish circles of Roman Palestine. Wischnitzer (1961:191-224) supports her point of view from biblical, midrashic and halakhic references. From this base, she suggests that "homogeneity of content and strong popular appeal" were the main features of synagogue art which implied the development of a "pictorial language" that employed a series of motifs inspired by the themes typical of Judaic confessional literature. She states that although the media of synagogue art were "conventional to the age," pagan meanings have been 'displaced' by Jewish meanings.

¹¹ Urbach argued (1959) that the need for Jewish craftsmen and scrap dealers to survive the economic turmoil of the third century provided the whole motivation for the use of figures in ancient synagogues. This simplistic model of cultural dynamics cannot, by definition, allow for the complexity of relations in all areas of cultural interaction

rabbinic tradition¹². This in spite of the fact that neither art nor synagogues could hardly be called overwhelmingly popular topics of debate in rabbinic texts¹³.

Thus, scholars rely on the confessional repertory to explain selected elements of art repertoires for selected sites (i.e. synagogues). The nature of cultural influence and the mechanisms of social relations are unexplained, as are the realms of social interaction which rendered symbol sets coherent in the local context. Rather, the meanings of a limited set of motifs are made coherent by reference to the confessional subset of (in this case, rabbinic) literature and are treated as the symbolic *lingua franca* among all synagogue populations in all places.

¹². From Strauss (1960) and Wischnitzer (1971), it would appear that Jews lived within a nearly hermetically sealed cultural environment, defined entirely in rabbinic terms.

¹³ Idolatry, however, was cause for heated exchange in rabbinic literature. See further Baumgarten 1975, and Cohen, 1954. There are only two clear references in the *midrash* and **Babylonian Talmud** which suggest that rabbis had to provide juridical edicts concerning the use of images in artwork:

"A figured stone you shall not put in the ground to worship thereto but a colonade with pictures and likenesses you may have in your synagogues but not to worship." (*Targum Jonathan*, Lev. 26:1, quoted in Baumgarten 1975:80).

"So in the days of R. Jonathan, they began to paint on walls and they did not prevent them. In the days of R. Abun they began to depict designs on mosaics and they did not prevent them." (BT *Abodah Zara* 41d, in Sukenik 1934:3).

The problem is perpetuated even when the confessional paradigm dominates a comparative treatment of church and synagogue. Selected elements are compared and interpreted as signs, having a confessional referent and a specifically structured field of meaning described in ideological, hermeneutic or psycho-philosophic terms. The encoded multiplicity of abstractions which lend order and coherence to the social world are too often passed over in favour of reiterating traditional confessional arguments. In the end the consideration of the mechanisms by which images "influenced" or engendered inter-confessional cultural interaction, or the manner in which a motif "stood for" particular images within a particular tradition, seldom ventures outside the confessional agenda¹⁴.

1.2.4.2 Enigmatic Diagnostic Traits

The ability to streamline associations between particular artifacts and a well-known confessionally based ideology encourages students of the material culture of public cult sites to tag sites with a religious and ethnic identifier by means of a single motif. Using such a system allows the student to quickly adopt sites without any real concern for the complexity and contradictions which typically harass the excavator. "Tell-tags" diagnostic signs quickly become monothetically diagnostic of their respective religious and ethnic identities.

¹⁴. For example see articles by Appelbaum (1961:246), and Baumgarten (1975:302). See also the more comprehensive work of Goldman (1966:38,302).

Compounding the problem, these signs are then taken as symbols because the motifs are said to "stand for" concepts derivative of that confessional community. The possibly much wider range of symbolic referents embedded in the complex associations between art and architecture on the ancient public cult sites are simply passed over.

Laypersons are not the only offenders in this regard. Excavators have sometimes taken the easy route and have relied extensively on a limited set of confessionally significant monothetic, diagnostic markers¹⁵. The result is limited interpretation in the secondary literature of selected elements of the artifactual repertoire. Following the theme introduced earlier in the chapter, the debate over the matter of figures in synagogues is an example of the culturally-simplistic and confessionally-directed nature of cult site interpretation. The principles of portraiture and imagery take precedence in the description of and apologetic for artwork. The mechanisms of sign and symbol conventions by which meanings are communicated receive only cursory attention.

This practice handicaps the available range of discussion regarding social meaning, simplifies the cultural map into three disparate sectors (to be identified by monothetic diagnostic tools) and narrows the discussion of the meaning of public cult artwork to the agendas drawn from surviving

¹⁵ A diagnostic marker is part of an identifying set of characteristics which assign a specimen to a species classification. In medicine, these are the symptoms which identify a disease. In psychology, diagnostic markers are those aspects of a person's character which make them a particular personality type.

confessional libraries. The approach is problematic at all levels of interpretation of excavated site material. It eliminates from consideration those cult sites which do not fit the classification and permits the relationships between mentalist, confessional constructs, feasible ethnic categories and particular cult sites to be drawn uncritically and without specific reference to the local context of the site.

Besides doubling as a short form for cultural realms of meaning, simple diagnostic markers are used to associate cult sites with the confessional model. In many cases a single marker is the sole basis of assignment. The manifestation of one such identifier, in the absence of the others, (i.e., imperial statuary, the menorah¹⁶ or the cross¹⁷) becomes the single criterion by which a site is deemed Jewish and therefore a synagogue, rather than a Christian church or Pagan temple. Thus artistic motifs, together with elements of languages (from inscriptions), whether manifested in or absent from the archaeological record, determine the assignment of public sites to confessional communities, the latter providing the exclusive interpretive framework for the former.

¹⁶ It is common to rely on an apparent consensus in scholarship regarding those motifs which implicitly constitute "Jewish motifs". For example, see Appelbaum (1961), and Chiat (1984:10-14).

¹⁷ It was discovered during the course of this research that brief references to discovered crosses, with geometric and floral motifs, were offered as the only argument for designation of the building as a church and description of its decoration. See further on the cross, Finegan (1969:228-229).

Under this scheme the recognition of the confessional classification of a structure becomes an important question for the investigator. The discovered diagnostic features have been heralded and figure prominently in the publishing record. This one-dimensional profile has become an implicit part of the "folklore" (meaning that which is generally and often vaguely understood, rather than that which is specifically known from evidence) about the site in the collegium of academic and interested lay persons. Subsequently the diagnostic profiles are then taken up into the interpretive *schemata* of cultural symbolism, well beyond the heat, dirt and detail of fieldwork, shedding in this transmission process the hesitations, qualifiers and suspicions of the excavators.

Enigmatic diagnostic traits may exclude the affected site from the interpretative process. Cult sites for which the identifiers are uncertain and enigmatic (essentially mixtures of confessional categories) are understood to be atypical, unique cases or exceptions to that which is "normative" for a particular tradition (Smith, 1967, Neusner, 1980). These anomalies are problematic, and the interpretation of such sites¹⁸ is often halted at the point of disagreement among modern scholars over the initial question of identification. Discussion of

¹⁸ Ambiguous sites include synagogues and churches at: Buriqa 'Aqbara, Nahf, Qabriha, Musmiya, Sa'alevim, Ma'on, Gerasa, Tell Qasile, Mopsuestia, Hisfin, Ramat Aviv and Ramat Moab. On Sepphoris, see Sean Freyne, **Galilee From Alexander to Hadrian 323 B.C.E. -135 C.E.** (Notre Dame U of Notre Dame) p 122-128. Also Boelter Francis. "Sepphoris - Sea Of Galilean Sanhedrin". **Explorer** 3. Winter 1977:36-43. The dating of the buildings at Kefar Nahum are controversial. Tsferis (1983:199-200) argues, convincingly, that the church and the synagogue are contemporary to each other.

these enigmatic sites does not penetrate the more general cultural interpretations of cult site activity.

Finally, a town containing "mixed" identifiers is seen as containing religious groups that were juxtaposed rather existing as a unified local community. This is evident in the tendency to describe such an urban unit as inhabited by two or more otherwise separate confessional communities¹⁹. Alternatively, the earliest sites of the third century may be labelled "Jewish-Christian," a controversial cultural group placed in the transition period during which the Church separated itself from the "mother" institution of the synagogue (E.W. Saunders (1977), R. Brown (1983)). Although it may be argued that the lines between Judaic and Christian communities are to be clearly drawn in both ancient and modern literature, the ambiguous sites demonstrate that the lines are considerably less distinct in the material culture.

1.2.4.3 Anachronisms in Time and Juxtapositions of Place

Also related to the issue of diagnostic markers is the practice of selective interpretation so that sites which are not closely related in time and place are

¹⁹ It is the habit for scholars to label cities as "Jewish" or "Christian" settlements, a practice which perpetuates monolithic, confessional categories of culture. see for example E. Meyers (1976), Meyers and Strange (1981), and Dauphin (1982). Sites where structures belonging to both groups have been claimed include Apamea, Asquelon, Beth Guvrin, Beth She'an, Caesarea (Palestine), Dor, Dura Europos, Geras, Jerusalem, Jericho, Kefar Nahum, Khirbet Karmil, Nazareth, Ostia, Rabbat, Moab, Sepphoris, Silo, Stobi and Yavne.

nevertheless collected under the umbrella of a confessional tradition. The practice typically involves discussion on motifs which are problematic to the agenda of normative communities. More common and accepted aspects that remain in the artistic repertoire are seldom subjects considered worthy of special remark. The difficulty here is that site data, so linked to the agenda of textually "normative communities", may be widely scattered across geographic and chronological locations. For our example, we turn again to the "problem of figures" in synagogue art repertoires. Traditional debate over the problematic relationship of figures to rabbinically significant fields of meaning reflects the rabbis' own concern over the sin of idolatry (Cohen, 1954, Urbach 1959, Baumgarten, 1975). Our modern interpretations of these literary sources replicate this problematic and do not fail to remark upon the Decalogue when in the presence of figures from synagogue sites. Most commonly, figures are explained in terms of cross-cultural fertilization between rabbinic Jews and their "Hellenistic" associates²⁰.

²⁰ From the beginning of his discussion (**Symbols**, Vol. 1:13) Goodenough was careful to assert that the Jew who defined the meanings of images in terms of Philonic mysticism was also the "Torah-true" Jew and must be regarded as a member of the historical community of Judaism. Nonetheless Goodenough drew the conflict in terms of rabbinic dislike of figures and their sought after "control" over their use.

The persistent debate over the perceived use or misuse of figural motifs in synagogues, and their relation to the proper sort of Judaism, continues. Thus Avi-Yonah, as have others, remarks that the absence of figures is correlated to the distance of the synagogue from Hellenistic centers (1977:379) and Chiat reiterates a frequently heard sentiment that:

"The Jews...were neither isolated nor sealed off; they were in a position to discriminately select or discard motifs and images...This is not to suggest

Variation in the use of figures is most often explained in reference to freedoms allowed to synagogue communities by rabbinic authorities. Sukenik (1934) proposed that the exercise of a prohibition against the use of figures can be detected in the decorative scheme of chronologically arranged sites²¹. In his view, the persecution and misery of the Jewish population motivated the rejection of two-dimensional forms and figures:

The only rational explanation of the situation found in the ancient synagogues is therefore that pictorial art had its ups and down in Jewish history, a period of greater laxity being followed by a reaction...the Talmudic literature distinguishes degrees of gravity in the offence of iconography and from it we may imagine, though we cannot prove, that the Palestinian authorities first set their faces against sculpture, but still tolerated wall paintings and mosaic; then, with increasing persecution and misery, also vented

the Judaism of Scythopolis [Beth Shean] was syncretistic...the existence of their synagogues...testifies to the awareness of their congregants to their Jewishness and their uniqueness...their religion survived...because of the innate ability of the Jewish people to make the adjustments necessary to ensure their future without ever forgetting or losing sight of their past. (1980:24).

²¹ Study of the architectural remains of ancient synagogue is a lively area of debate with significant concentrations on the chronological and regional distribution of floor plan characteristics. (See further the articles in Guttman, 1981 and Levine, 1987) The architectural typology of three types was first proposed by Kohl and Watzinger in their 1916 publication in which they suggested that architectural plans of synagogues could be classified in three types. Avi-Yonah (1981:272) developed the idea that these types followed each other in chronological succession and his typology and extensively used in the discussion of synagogue architecture. The first type of synagogue is thought to be a basilical plan with a facade and bare of ornament, the transitional group is a "broad-house" and the third, a basilica with decoration and a "Torah shrine." See Chiat (1985:4-6) and E. Meyers (1976). Efforts since then to produce a revised schema for dating synagogue sites according to architectural plans have been unsuccessful.

their bitterness upon two dimensional representations of animals and human beings. (Sukenik 1934:65)

Sukenik's first phase of lax enforcement, after the Bar Kochba war, is represented by the Kefar Nahum synagogue. The second is the synagogue at Na'aran. There, in the mosaic floor, the "zodiac was deliberately smashed while the accompanying inscriptions were spared." Korazim (given a 4th century date) is taken as the end of the early reaction against sculpture on the basis of statements by Eusebius and Jerome, that it was already uninhabited at the time they lived in Palestine (Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, 303,78f). Since the Beth Alpha synagogue is paved with a zodiac, seasons and an *Akedah*, the sixth century date of that site was determined to be the end of the later reaction against figures.²² Such "explanations" of synagogue artwork²³

²² A figural chronology of this sort is necessarily dependent upon the accurate dating of the material which is being described. The collapse of the chronological/architectural typology (Avi-Yonah, 1973:42) has rendered this "explanation" of synagogue art highly suspect:

It now appears that the whole question of the development of synagogal plans from the third to the sixth century will have to be reconsidered, allowing more weight perhaps to local variants than to an overall style to be encountered throughout the country. (Avi-Yonah, 1973:42)

Some sites have been re-excavated, plans revised, and new dates have been assigned, for example, to Gush Halav, Caesarea and Kefar Nahum. Sukenik's argument for a tension-laxity chronology was based on only a half a dozen scattered sites.

Most sites have been dated in general terms but a minority of those dates are precisely fixed by the site stratigraphy. There are only six synagogue sites to which specific and stratigraphically verified, but only partially descriptive dates can be assigned: A renovation at Beth Alpha is commemorated but the original date

rest on dubious dating practices for only a few sites widely scattered across the landscape and ignore the extra-confessional social context. They effectively assume a direct relationship between rabbinic teaching and the meaning of these arts.

Images and painting were also seen as problematic by ancient Christian writers and legislators²⁴ and it is customary, in ancient and modern scholarship, to concentrate discussion of the artistic repertoire to those elements which carried doubtful theological significance. Doing so effectively limits the range of symbolic meaning to theological categories, and forces us to describe cultural relations in terms of an ill-defined cross-boundary "influence" between three confessional communities. Such "explanations" of synagogue

of construction is uncertain (Chiat 1979:279); Only recently has the date of the Kefar Nahum synagogue been fixed to the late fourth and early fifth century (Tzaferis 1983:203); Meiron was abandoned in 350 C.E. according to the excavators and Khirbet Shema, nearby, was occupied in two phases originating in 284 and 419 C.E. respectively (E. Meyers, in Levine 1981:70-74, also E. Meyers et als., 1981). The Nabratein inscription is fixed to 565 C.E.; Gaza has an inscription which is established at 508-509). A church was built over the synagogue at Gerasa in Transjordan, in 530 C.E. (Avi-Yonah 1981:279).

²³ The literature on the "problem" of figures is disproportionately greater than the volume of the original references, see above n 14. This "explanation" has been taken up and expounded upon in the secondary literature by, among others, Kampf (1966), Frey (1934), Howarth (1950), Cohen (1954), Abrahams (1971), and Gutmann (1971).

²⁴ See for example the discussion of the primary literary sources of Christianity in Frend (1984:414-421).

artwork select from the broad range of synagogue art motifs²⁵ and limit the field of referents reinforcing a simplistic cultural model. In the end, the practice brings us no closer to a means to explain, to ourselves, their presence in the archaeological record.

Our abundant architectural and artistic collections reflect the rich archaeological resources of Roman and Byzantine Palestine and they have become familiar to us as we encounter their occasional illustrations in our histories. These illustrations usually consist of briefly captioned photographs, sketches and artistic restorations, emended inscriptions and ruined foundations: In their effect, these illustrations are disjointed, dislocated fragments of architecture and artwork in various stages of dissolution. The disassociated presentation drives home the impression that archaeological fragments are inherently fragmentary and comprehensible only in relation to the agenda of fields of inquiry which lie outside the discipline of field archaeology.

Landsberger's discussion of sacred direction (1975) is illustrative of this approach. He argues that churches and synagogues "belong together," but he proceeds in a disparate fashion, beginning first with synagogues discussed in relation to biblical (Deut. 12:5, Dan. 6:11) and talmudic (*BT Baba Batra* 24a) sources. He concludes that "open spaces" (i.e. windows) were necessary

²⁵ The broad range of cult art includes many different types of motifs, a range made all the more remarkable when the confessionally significant images do not dominate. In the attribute list, crosses are a subcategory of geometric motifs, and the menorah and Torah ark are considered to be part of the category "tools". See Method: Technical Appendix 3B.

"between the worshipper and Jerusalem." (1975:183) He hypothesizes ("backward from Galilean synagogues of the second and third Christian centuries") that these buildings must have had windows to accommodate "a prayer direction" and finds confirmation in the Biblical books of Deuteronomy (12:5ff) and Daniel (6:11) and in the **Babylonian Talmud** (completed late 5thC), namely R. Hiyya bar Abba's prohibition regarding prayer "in any house or enclosure devoid of windows" (**BT Berakhah** 31a,34b). This is his explanation for the form of the Syrian arches (a lintel with a semi-circular relieving arch leaving a crescent-shaped opening between the two parts) with no mention of buildings (other than Bar'am) where the same arch is found. He dismisses as "far-fetched" an alternate proposal from **Tosefta Megillah**. iv:21,22 that the form of the arched doorways had to do with the need to store the scrolls in a box facing the prescribed direction. Rather, he points to the facade at Bar'am and asserts that:

Ours is the explanation with the greater warrant, namely that the side portals, in addition to imparting aesthetic charm, helped to widen the scope of the look toward Jerusalem (1975:243).

He hypothesizes that the once-open main portal was closed at the same time that the direction of worship was shifted away from the facade and toward the opposite, now "holy," wall. In the latter, he supposes, the box for storing the Torah scrolls was subsequently located, and he suggests that the apse developed from a niche serving this function. Even if we should grant this supposition, it seems a remarkable statement indeed given the widespread

occurrence of apses and niches in both sacred and secular architecture, and the relative absence of direct information from the field concerning the subject of his query.

After treating synagogues from the third century B.C.E. to the Medieval period, including references from Maimonides (12th C) and Moses ben Meir of Ferrara (a Tosafist of the 13th C), Landsberger turns to the question of ancient churches. He refers to the text of the *Didaskalia* (ch.3), and the works of Irenaeus the Bishop of Lyons, Clement of Alexander (*Paedagogus* II, Ch.8) and Tertullian for information about the "proper" (easterly) direction of prayer, allusions to the "holiness" of the eastern portal and the development in the niche of the altar and table. He concludes that the "absolute" or "holy" was perceived to be in the same direction for both church and synagogue (1974:254). Thus Landsberger, although purporting to treat synagogues and churches together, nevertheless treats them in two separate categories and illustrates the whole with a few photographs. Thus he proceeds on an agenda more at home in the literary sources than in the field.

It would appear, from this perspective, that the field data can be given meaning and coherence only in relation to literature-based histories. The behaviour implied by artifacts is assumed to have conformed, in a general way, to prescriptions recorded in the literature. Only when the on-site evidence clearly demonstrates that such conformity was not the case does further interpretation follow. The archaeological fragments are thus shown to be

descriptive of and their meanings derived from an already existing programme of religious thought, polemicized debate and politically motivated events, constructed out of ancient literature.

In this derivative fashion, it has been customary to examine and interpret the archaeological remains of public cult buildings within the confessional traditions of Christianity, Judaism and Paganism, each having a theologically derived distinction based upon ancient apologetic and polemical documents. However, their diagnostic elements bring into the same category sites having a broad range of geographical and chronological locations. If synagogues, temples or churches as separate classes of buildings are each to be explained only in relation to their respective confessional traditions, we pre-empt a basic archaeological principle that cult sites and their artifacts must first be treated as material objects belonging within their local artifactual spatial and chronological relationships. Instead, synagogues, which may vary widely in geographic location and chronological time periods, are brought into relationship with a pan-national, a-historical Judaism²⁶ and these Judaic "houses of prayer" are compared to each other rather than to churches or temples which may have existed in their respective locale. Similarly, churches are first Christian, and then from North African, Syrian or of Constantinople, according to Krautheimer (1981). In order to achieve an understanding of the local environment in which

²⁶ See the criticisms of Neusner (1966, 1979, 1980, 1981), Smith (1963:197) and Saunders (1977:1-12).

these cult sites were put into use, we ought to put forth an equally thorough interpretive effort in developing cross-confessional and even cross-cultural categories which do not beg the question of ethnic or religious identity.

1.3 Text and Site: An Analogous Approach

There is an analogy between the approach now commonly being taken toward textual data and that to be taken toward archaeological data. In both cases, detailed detective work is needed to decipher the social and historical facts buried in complex structures of surviving religious 'texts'. Jennings's comment that "fieldwork properly done is slow, tedious and demanding" (1974:34-5) applies both to text and to site data.

The analogy extends to the incomplete nature of the data, the intent of the methodology employed and the complex nature of cultural overlays which the methodology seeks to uncover. Like textual data, archaeological data give us a portrait of only a portion of ancient life. What we have has survived more or less by historical accident.

This data is first subjected to a detailed examination of form in the various bodies of material. In textual studies, this usually means study of a pericope in some representative section of an individual document. Likewise for archaeological researchers, the basic unit of study is a section of the subject matter. For field archaeologists that "smallest unit" is usually the site phase

and/or its constituent parts²⁷. A "phase" is defined as those strata which represent a specific occupation in a site which has been occupied in succession by a number of communities. The methodology in both cases involves a close reading of the form and structure to be discovered in the data. Whether it involves word usage and formulaic structure or a close study of the variants which classify into forms and materials of ceramics, in both cases what is sought is an understanding of the structural underpinnings of form and genre. In literary research, as in material culture study, the data consists of a chronological sequence of layered data from which the investigator hopes to learn more about the cultural environment in which materials were produced. Where a document can (sometimes, but rarely conclusive) be dated to a single time and place, a site phase can, in the best circumstances, also be assigned to a time and place.

The amount of debris which overlies the 'final form' of the site depends to a significant degree on the length of time between the last major occupation and beginning of the investigator's attentions. In both cases, detailed knowledge about the original "form" is derived from careful studies of often obscure and subtle variations in the evidence which is initially collected according to a large-

²⁷Phase is used in this dissertation to mean occupation levels which are subdivisions of the same stratum, but are structurally or culturally significant enough to require designation. A stratum is an inclusive term for a series of layers which taken together represent continuous periods of occupation during which there were no structural or cultural discontinuities. A stratum is usually marked at its beginning and end by radical stratigraphic changes i.e. destruction layers which involve the whole site (Blakely and Toombs, 1980:122-123).

scale pattern of general cultural conformity. In both cases, the knowledge of that large-scale pattern is incomplete and fragmentary, frustrated by accidents of survival and the destructive processes associated with contamination and transformation. Nevertheless, the pattern serves as a means by which to identify the remnants of culture activity.

1.3.1 Site Data and Culture Information

Archaeological data and their explanations are a source of cultural information which must be brought together with the knowledge gained from the study of ancient literary materials. It is archaeology which has opened, for the modern world, a window into prehistoric cultures for which we have no texts.

The absence of literary material for the non- or pre-text periods of human culture, especially in the New World, forced excavators to devise new approaches to their data. Although the cultural implications of that work are no more settled than some of the aspects of Levantine confessional texts, we nevertheless continue to use the methods which have instructed us about the nature of life as it was experienced prehistorically. If we can track culture variation in both New World and Old World sites using archaeological techniques alone, then sites contemporary with ancient texts can also be studied in a parallel but independent stream.

1.3.2 Culture, Site and Text: Providing Checks and Balances

These sources, text and site, and their respective cultural envelopes, encompass what we might eventually know about the wide variety of activities done in connection with the buildings in which they worshipped. These activities included ritual events, broadly understood, but may refer to social happenings as well. Archaeologists seek to know what people did at these cult sites -- they are interested in formal liturgical dramas as well as the use of the site for doing business or for recreation. We can never fully know what went on but we can, however, get a fuller picture by looking at as many clues as possible. Archaeological data may help, if we avoid premature judgements with respect to its meaning, as does literary evidence, when we can detect its normative bias and elitist character. Too often, however, literary evidence is used to interpret material culture in ways that fail to keep attention focused on the real object of such inquiry, namely, the actual religious life of the peoples who used these sites.

The solution to understanding the religious and cultural life of Jews and Christians in Antiquity will lie in the interaction of data and explanations from both areas of research. Such an approach provides a system of checks and balances as we develop our understanding of the persistence of these traditions. Where the tradition leaves tracks in both material and textual sources, we have the foundation for a hypothesizing some of the basic scaffolding of culture categories. Where tracks are left in one but not the other,

there may be a basis for re-examining the approach we take to explaining the particular datum. Where distortions are created by the sorting process of literary transmission, the material culture may provide one or more alternative perspectives. Since each field addresses a different but overlapping range of culture issues, it may be possible to fill in the information missing from the construct developed in each respective area. No one field of research ought to prejudice the other: rather we are best served by a mutual interest in a more complete understanding of the life of Christians and Jews of the Levant during the transition from the late Roman to the Early Byzantine period.

CHAPTER TWO

IMAGES OF CULTURE IN THE CULT: THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

2.0 Speaking Trans-Confessionally

We seek an understanding of religious buildings of the period which embraces and then surpasses the parochial images which are familiar to us from Christian and Jewish traditions and their historiographic records²⁸. In order to paint a broader portrait of religious life within which these traditions matured, our theoretical framework must be built with trans-confessional categories "beyond, yet still not foreign to" our data sources in both site and text.

An enlargement in perspective may appear at first to yield only an overwhelming flood of chaotic and fragmented data. This is especially the case for Near Eastern archaeological sites, from which we gain much information that would be apparently irrelevant to our inquiry if we were to persist with the confessional agenda. Widening our viewpoint has the result, in that mode, of increasing interfering noise and extraneous static so that our data is rendered even more unintelligible and uninformative. However, we can find significance

²⁸ In order to explain these traditions in their larger cultural context, it is necessary to move beyond the particulars of parochial thought and to adopt modes of expression which permits us to '...explain, to interpret and thus to transcend, the world view of the subject matter...'. Doing so '...entails appealing to categories beyond, yet still not foreign to that particular framework.' (Lightstone, 1984:5-6)

among these data as we can draw relationships between individual and groups of cult sites and matters of religious life. We draw these relationships by means of a series of working hypotheses about these sites, their artifacts and theoretical models of religious activity.

2.1 Sorting Out The Noise In The Data

"Social" and "symbolic" archaeologists have attempted to sketch out the linkages between the material remains of cult sites and the religious dimensions of their cultural environment. Colin Renfrew (1984) is an early pioneer in the explorations of some plausible formations for a social archaeology. From his study of artifactual remains in Meso-America, he was able to develop hypotheses about socially governed spatial arrangements, networks and directions of flow in trade and other interactions. He examined the placement of monumental buildings and their hypothesized relationships to forms of authority, as well as other structural and dynamic relationships in society including discontinuity and long term social change. Against the pessimism of M.A. Smith and in response to the assertions of no less an authority than Gordon Childe, Renfrew (1984:6-9) argued that speculative conclusions about seemingly obvious relationships were merely the beginning of inquiry:

We can now see very clearly that what seemed to Childe, and certainly to his contemporaries, as an exercise in interpretation and speculation that pushed at the very frontiers of what was known or indeed knowable about the prehistoric past was, in reality, little more than a selective listing of a number of essentially

unexplored problem areas...In short what to Childe seemed a listing of conclusions, offered at the very limits of archaeological inference, seems to us today on the contrary an inventory of potential fields of archaeological inquiry, ripe for investigation. (Renfrew, 1984:9)

Renfrew responded to the perceived limits of inference with a number of hypotheses in which he sought to demonstrate his assertion that description is in fact the beginning of further study. We follow his example here. Hypotheses will be developed, proceeding from a similar methodology which can, incidentally, be adapted to either textual or material artifacts. That is, we begin by comparing the descriptive characteristics between data sets.

The process of artifactual comparisons is not new: Near Eastern archaeologists have long used morphological parallels²⁹ to propose cultural relationships between ancient sites but this theorized culture usually just skims the surface. Cultural anatomy is described in a superficial manner, in part, because the data which are the basis of archaeological inference are usually descriptive, strictly limited in the number of sites and in the range of noteworthy artifacts. By citing similarities in a few aspects of the form, constitution and provenance of an artifact, the researcher has been content to imply, albeit

²⁹ Morphological parallels are cases where the attributes of form, shape, function and material are found between two or more examples of an artifact. Parallels are drawn where they are found to be similar enough to postulate a cultural relationship between the sites on which they were found. In Near Eastern Archaeology, those parallels are most often based on a description of form, although, more recently, it has come to include the composition and context of the item as well.

imprecisely, that social relationships may have existed between two or more sites and that these vaguely expressed relationships constitute the explanation for such similarities.

Here, however, we go beyond simple comparison by means of occasional citations of minimal parallels. As with former researchers, we work from an empirical foundation, but we seek to build a multi-dimensional cultural profile in which comparisons are much more thorough and systematic. The principle of drawing parallels is applied on a much broader attributive scale, with considerably more rigor than is customary, and follows explicit and detailed descriptives. As well, the collection of contributing sites from which such parallels might be drawn is extended far beyond the usual one or two. Our sample contains 173 site-phases, which have met specific criteria designed to ensure strong basis of comparison and a maximum contribution to our knowledge about Late Roman and Byzantine religious life in ancient Palestine.

Building on the use of artifactual parallels in this fashion, our understanding of culture as it relates to site data has been drawn from the theoretical work of Hester (1976), Binford (1983), Renfrew (1984) and Hodder (1986). By taking a large-scale, wholistic approach and closely relating their material evidence to theoretical systems models, these and other 'new archaeologists' have been able to establish classificatory structures in the material remains of a variety of sites from prehistoric cultural traditions. Their

theoretical development³⁰ is based on detailed, systematic archaeological reports typical of New World archaeology. With a very limited literary foundation to work from, New World archaeologists commonly took great pains to include all of the apparently innocuous *minutiae* which excavators have recovered from seemingly impoverished (in comparison to the rich finds in Near Eastern sites) single occupation sites. The resulting massive quantities of data allowed these theoreticians to push past the frontiers of the obvious in response to concerns raised by systems models of culture.

The careful study of these massive quantities of data from MesoAmerican and North American sites has resulted in the recognition of several series of culture areas³¹ having definitive material culture profiles (Jennings, 1974). We begin, in this dissertation, with the formal examination of the primary remains of religious life during the period and thereby to begin the process where Near Eastern scholars expend as much analytical energy on

³⁰ This approach to cultural theory arises out of the research of a whole generation of archaeologists working on prehistoric sites of the American Southwest and Middle America (for a general description, see Jennings (1974) and for detailed studies, see Binford and Binford (1968), Cleland (1976) and others).

³¹ A culture area in archaeology is a geographic unit roughly corresponding to the culture area of the ethnographer. The American Southwest, for example, is a culture area having strong culture-environment correlations despite more than a half-century of intensive study. A culture area tends to have major physiographic divisions and persists as an integrative concept despite the investigations of many individuals and institutions. An area is considerably larger than a region and also arises from common consent but the "element of historical accident is reduced somewhat by the fact that many individuals and institutions are likely to have been involved in their investigation. In contrast, a region is frequently the produce of concentrated research by an individual or group. (Hester, 1976:83-84).

archaeological materials as they do on text. A thoroughly explicit, systematic approach to description upon which more general theoretical models are built, has been the basis for much of our knowledge of prehistoric cultural processes in the Americas. It has yet to be applied seriously or consistently to historical and especially religious sites in the ancient Near East. Excavators are becoming aware of the need to publish more of their data but the approach has only very recently gone beyond the recitation of brief artifact parallels. As with any scientific study governed by innovative and experimental methods, the results gained in this dissertation can be viewed as tentative in a Near Eastern setting where archaeologists continue to depend heavily on the versions of culture supplied by venerable interpretations of textual sources.

In North American materials, however, very few textual sources exist and none have either the canonical weight, scholarly respect or the longevity of ancient Near Eastern, especially confessional, literature. Any credibility for interpretations of American "pre-historic" sites, then, has been gained on the basis of theoretical merit against substantial artifactual evidence, rather than from the weight of congruity between fragmented site data and ancient textual material. Although the work at the fringes remains contentious, as it should, the overall perspective on North American prehistory, as it is understood from surviving site data, has gained acceptance. As a methodology, therefore, explicit description provides to Near Eastern archaeologists a check and a balance to our attempts to develop working hypotheses about religion and

culture. Throughout this dissertation, we will be deliberately suspending any assumed links between ancient cult sites and the surviving textual material while we search for wider terms of reference. Our agenda, then, is derived from a culture systems theoretical perspective coupled to the explicit and comparative treatment of the entire attribute profile of ancient cult sites.

Knowing more about religiously significant artifacts in ancient cult sites involves finding out more about how they fit into the cultural matrix. No one working hypothesis can fully support the complexity of religious life in Antiquity, and this author has sought to develop a multi-faceted approach which explores thematically some of the relationships between ancient cult site materials and some aspects of religious life. Each theme or query is, in a sense, an independent inquiry, but throughout, each study rests on an integrated foundation characterized by trans-confessional classificatory structures.

We will walk further down some roads and leave others to future efforts. Among those themes which have captured this author's interest, is an hypothesis of cultural regions. Although it presents an important direction for subsequent study, in-depth analysis of distributions of site similarity goes far beyond the limits imposed by the nature of this dissertation. We can only begin such a journey from here. Our intent is to map out the variety of available themes rather than study any single one in depth. Therefore, we also pursue a number of potentially related but otherwise independent hypotheses which directly address a broad range of religious concerns. Such topics are open

ended. Our purpose is to demonstrate the value of our approach to the original problematic, rather than journey to the end of all the roads at our disposal.

Therefore, our choices among the many attributes to study, within that approach, has been guided as much by interest as by any systematic criteria.

At the same time, the selection of themes is controlled, to a degree, by a correlation between high statistical frequency of the relevant artifacts, access to sufficient descriptive information from which to proceed and the potential contribution individual topics might make to the currently existing sociological, anthropological and religio-historical agenda for the region.

Our original problematic is how best to make use of archaeological data from cult sites to explore historical social configuration, ethnic description and ancient religious identity. This formulation has led to a theoretical model which reflects issues of social classification, religious cosmologies and the social processes which may disintegrate or sustain this "sacred canopy" (Berger 1967). Here, the cosmic map is the beginning of significance. If, in the ancient world, religiously-defined cultural space was divided into sacred and mundane realms (Durkheim 1961, 1963, Eliade 1957), then ordinary domains were qualitatively and quantitatively distinct from sacred realms and much meaning in religious life was gained from the intercourse between these two realms. The mediative role between the sacred and the mundane may be performed by a variety of intensely significant persons, things or places and transition may be accomplished by means of ritual, liturgical and other portentous expressions.

World-building and world-maintenance is a dynamic interactive process related to the exercise of social power (Berger 1967:1-51). In the social structure, events are understood through a "multiplicity of complex conceptual structures" which provide coherence to socially shared meanings (Geertz, 1973:6-13). Therefore, the social meanings to be inferred from the details of the material culture profile and its parallels can be considered neither simple nor one-dimensional. Our approach, therefore, assumes a multiplicity of social, political and religious referents in a series of overlays which together ought to enrich our view of ancient religious life.

Once the basic architecture of an integrated social and religious model is in place, the framework, upon which we build our perceptions about both religion and culture in the ancient world, is unified by theoretical contributions from a number of specialists in the structures of social communication. To clarify our social framework, and the principles of classification it employs, requires that we pay attention to boundaries³². According to Barth (1969):

...all anthropological reasoning rests on the premise that culture variation is discontinuous, that there are aggregates of people who essentially share a common culture and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all others (Barth, 1969:9).

³² To that end, this author has found the concepts of Turner's concepts of ritual liminality to be of significance, especially when formulated in the context of liturgical movements (Turner 1964, 1969, 1974).

The configuration is one of an encompassing envelope of general culture, containing smaller, discrete but not entirely disconnected units. The entire complex structure is held together by means of within-group and between-group routes of communication that preserve both dichotomization and overall continuity. These routes of communication may be both explicit and implicit and operate in a complex system of signs and symbols, forms of communication which have been thoroughly investigated from an anthropological perspective by Leach (1976) and from a philosophical perspective by Langer (1976, 1982) and others.

These concepts permit us to round out the general shape of our working hypotheses, or more accurately, the series of working hypotheses. The atmosphere in which the hypotheses were conceived has been cross-fertilized by ideas drawn from descriptive and symbolic archaeology, sociological theory, comparative ethnography and religious studies. However, no single theoretical approach was entirely satisfactory to the explanation of these archaeological sites, and because we work with the site material, we have taken only those roads which could be fitted to the evidence at hand. All of these researchers have in common the view that any culture is a dynamic whole that can be generally described, and although its facets may be dissected in various ways, the culture system is understood to be a cohesive entity capable of maintaining its own systemic integrity under the impact of social change.

Working from this theoretical foundation, there are a large number of questions which can be raised regarding the significance of cult sites for the religious life in the ancient world without resorting to the confessional agenda. The questions asked by these theoreticians represent one available means to sort out the archaeological evidence. In each case, the topic is re-formulated so that we can answer it with the materials at hand.

Throughout our journey, we will often see what appears to be a familiar signpost and may be tempted into paths ever more remote from our purpose, which is to demonstrate the value of a wider perspective on ancient cult sites. As positive as their appeal might be for the future of our approach to the data, we leave the exploration of those sideroads for another time. To assist the reader, our itinerary is briefly summarized. We will be addressing the following matters:

- Where significant numbers of parallels exist, especially independent of so-called confessional classifications, can we conjecture the existence of culture or ethnic regions?
- What is the evidence of commercial activity? How permeable is boundary between the cult site and the surrounding urban commercial networks of activity?
- Does the cult site have a directional orientation (which might signify a number of things)?
- Were there vessels for water (which might signify very many things)?

- How is the liturgical space(s) within the cult site organized?
 - What divisions are consistently placed between congregation (nave) and performer (chancel or *bema*)?
 - What sacred places are secluded or separated? How? How much? How accessible are they and to whom?
 - What is the overall pattern of liturgical and profane spaces? What does it represent?
- What provision is made on-site for cult staff? Why?
- What can we learn from inscriptions?
 - What languages are used by the group?
 - Are there clues to status hierarchies within the group?
 - Why were donations made?
 - What esoteric significances are in inscriptional texts?
- What visual languages reside in the art?
 - What images and themes exist and how often?
 - To what depth and how many levels of interpretation?
 - What forms and distributions are typical?
 - How do correlations exist between the placement and the selection of (aggregates of) motifs?
 - Under what social environment would such interpretations be perpetuated? How?

We cannot begin to answer decisively all of these questions, but in a trans-confessional mode, in the remainder of this chapter, we can demonstrate the point of this dissertation with first steps, i.e. we can begin to discuss them on the basis of existing evidence. Each of these topics are presented in terms of their contribution to a wider perspective. Relevant data are measured by scales or variations in occurrence. Only incidentally will we make reference to confessional designations. Below, we begin with the theoretical basis which will be taken in this work.

2.1.1 An Hypothesis About Cultural Regions

The mass of data which comes from excavation reports can be sorted, classified and measured. Sites so understood can be related to each other in terms of artifactual similarity or parallels. That principle of artifactual similarity, or parallels, leads us through the process of citing parallels to an hypothesis of shared culture. This commonality of elements or shared culture leads to inferences about social relationships.

Social relationships are most likely in cases where there are many parallels between sites. When the parallel citations are many and overall similarities are readily visible in a series of site clusters, such patterns may be considered systemic and culturally pervasive. These measures of cultural conformity may well, indeed ought, to penetrate to all of the artifactual classes represented on a site, from burials and community zoning to the canons of creative works of art and popular literature.

The search for general patterns of artifactual similarity and difference within and between cult sites, as it is undertaken in this thesis, is based on the view that material culture is "meaningfully constituted." (Hodder 1986:3). Artifacts are, by definition, manifestations of human behaviour that are necessarily linked to the realms of symbolic communication which together make a culture system into a coherent whole. Patterning in site profiles, or in a broadly based set of artifactual attributes, is meaningful when a design replicates itself, despite transformations in various spheres, and thereby

becomes evidence for shared cultural knowledge for which only outsiders would need an explanation. We, separated from the populations of these sites by time and space, represent the bewildered outsider. In order to understand religious life in the Palestine of Late Roman and Early Byzantine times, we need first to sketch in for ourselves the initial shape of the cultural milieu of these buildings, to establish the most general systemic underpinnings by which noisy, seemingly disjunctive data can be rendered "meaningfully constituted" into ordered but not simplistic arrangements.

There were a number of systemic underpinnings which were suggested in this author's examination of the excavation reports for cult sites. The most basic pattern of all is a general configuration of site similarity which supports an hypothesis that culture regions existed. From this study, relationships between the site and its urban quarter can be seen to comply with several, more general, patterns of similarities in the artifact profiles. Any archaeological site belongs, first and foremost, in its local environment. Its occupants at any level were part and parcel of an integrated social and communicative system in which individuals held enough in common with each other to be able to organize themselves and to differentiate between "us" and "them". In the systemic view of things, this ordering of social affairs is also an ordering of material affairs and we find in material culture some sense of the classificatory structures and processes by which the social world was made real to its constituents.

Under the rubric of the culture region, even people holding different ethnic loyalties, but who lived in close proximity, would have had more in common with each other than they might have with enclaves of their associates living at great distances. This commonness of perspective and experience, held by people living in close proximity, would manifest itself in similarities which can be observed in their manipulation and production of the material environment (Renfrew 1984, Hodder 1986). On this basis, similar sites imply similarities in the cultural understandings of their former occupants.

When several series of clusters of sites can be distinguished by similarities within and differences from some other group of sites, each group can be said to constitute a culture region (with respect to the particular artifact type under study)³³. Site similarity implies shared perceptions of reality, including agreed-upon ideas about inter- and inner-community relationships, permissible behaviour and the nature of social identity. In examining patterns of difference and homogeneity on cult sites (and the culture-bound human

³³A "region" is spatial unit considerably larger than a site or a "locality":
 "In portions of the New World (and the Old World as well) where physical conditions of sharp diversity prevail, archaeological regions are likely to coincide with minor physiographic subdivisions." (Hester 1976:84)

Usually as a result of concentrated research by an individual or group, such a region comes to be thought of as having problems of its own that set it apart from other regions. The work of Eric and Carol Meyers, with James Strange in Galilee is a clear example. The term is used most often in studies having wider scope than site reports. Environmental considerations and geographical facts tend to play a significant role in interpretations of region-based culture formations.

activity they represent), we can infer forms of social classification and permitted degrees of transit between classes as well as mechanisms which maintain the overall cohesion of culture in the face of inevitable permeability.

Culture regions can be defined more accurately by the intensity of phenomena at their core rather than by the clarity of their boundaries (Dohrs, 1967:487, Whittlesey, 1967:35, Strange, 1982:85-87). Thus regions will have 'fuzzy' edges, their profiles fading in frustratingly complex relationships from one polythetic pattern into another. The purity with which the pattern can be portrayed is at its most ideal in the core of a region and its characteristic profile is less distinct toward the periphery. The clarity of the edges of culture-region ranges is infringed and overlapped at the margins, yielding indefinite mixtures which are characteristic of boundary zones between regions.

The systemic patterns in the ancient culture may in many cases have been entirely different than were historically known political and administrative district boundaries and this appeared to be the case for a large sample of cult sites of the period. The patterning of culture-regions in Late-Roman and Early Byzantine Palestine appears not to conform to the political or ecclesiastical divisors important in our historical sources. As the first and most original of our roads to be explored, we will define and describe the features of regional configurations which emerge from a thorough study of site similarity. The results provide ample justification for the view that delineations of systemic culture patterning in cult sites will be far from simple.

2.2 Cult Sites Within The Urban Environment

On another path, systemic patterns may also be drawn out of the analysis of spatial relationships on the sites as well as between sites and their immediate urban environment. Relationships of similarity are evident where cult sites were, in instances far too many to be mere coincidences, situated as an integral part of the urban landscape. The artifacts which identify the nature of the urban quarters adjacent to cult sites included, most frequently, domestic and commercial activity. The ready proximity between cult sites and these other more mundane activities suggests that certain activities were not only permissible but desired in the immediate vicinity of a cult building, while others were not. Sites were located in certain quarters of town and not others, and cult liturgical activity appears to have been done in immediate association with some kinds of activity and not others. There is also some evidence to suggest that the sites were oriented toward local features or cardinal points of the compass rather than central pilgrimage cities such as Jerusalem or Rome. These relationships suggest a strong sense of interconnectedness between the cult and its immediate environment.

The special and sacred nature of the enclosed space of a cult building is such that, to be able to accommodate interconnectedness, regulated avenues of inter-zone exchange would be necessary between liturgical realms and the outer spaces associated with the mundane world. The vehicle of exchange

may have been the ability of the cult to provide facilities, knowledgeable personnel and a dramatic stage for the performances of rites and rituals which empowered any number of religiously significant passages within and between areas of sacral, personal and communal life. In doing so, cult sites and their staff made themselves integrally and elementally part of the rituals and images which lend credence to the community's shared vision of reality.

We explore below some of the religiously significant aspects of possible routes of inter-zone connection between the cult site and the urban matrix.

2.2.1 Currency Exchanges: Coin Hoards and Scatters

One of the most obvious connections between a cult and its immediate urban environment is the supply of goods and services necessary for the carrying on of cult business, especially the liturgical dramas performed on the site. Such provision may have been in the form of goods, donated or bartered for religious services, or hard currency. Some cult sites yielded up vast quantities of imperial coinage, often handfuls of precious metal discs. Other communities appear to have left behind only the most sparse evidence of occasional scatters, made up of a few coins of various denominations and for a good many, no coin evidence at all.

This distribution suggests that some cult sites may have been actively involved in the currency exchange market by virtue of the apparent value of coins stored on behalf of the local community. By holding funds, exchanging

them for currencies of similar value and redistributing said funds in the form of investments, loans, charity or benevolence, cult sites may have served a quasi-banking function so that their staff acted to benefit the community, perhaps by helping to administer social and economic affairs. Significantly different patterns of deposit at other places may indicate that the exchange network of which these sites may have, in part, consisted of an alternative economy where goods and services were bartered rather than exchanged for imperial coins. In both cases, the form of the exchange implies an economic relationship between the cult and its surrounding community.

2.2.2 Transition Portals: Water and Water Containers

In a climate where settlement and survival is governed in significant measure by the distribution and quality of water, the fluid is a special commodity, holding qualities both sacred and mundane. Water, in its various states, is a servant, sustaining human life but it is also a master. In both scarcity and over-abundance, it holds the power to endanger that life. It is essential to the mundane sustenance of life itself - from cooking and cleansing to nutrition and general health.

However, water is a vehicle for symbolic intent, carrying, for many religions, references to a state of purity. Having the facility to absorb and transform sediment and other basic elements, thereby replenishing and

restoring purity, water has near-universal symbolic values associated with cleansing and purity as well as healing and curative powers. With water, the dirty is made clean, the inedible is transformed into sustaining food, the ill are made healthy, moral pollution is restored to purity, youthful strength and power are restored (Kumar, 1983:5).

When water, especially contained water, is located on the cult site, these water sources are potent images of intercourse between ordinary and sacred domains. Flowing water moves an individual from filth to cleanliness and in the symbolic realm, moves the believer from a state of moral corruption to purity. However, when the water is contained and localized, its qualities of motion are briefly stilled, its transformational qualities contained in an opening between the worlds that is housed within the cult building. Water sources then, whether contained or flowing, can be thus linked to a network of images connotating motion, transition and transformation.

Washing in water mediates a change from one state to another and carries the subject via a familiar image, along a socially and religiously significant *rite de passage*. Contained water establishes the nexus between the worlds and locates the threshold through which one moves between one state and another. Water in containers holds that power momentarily static, locating the transition point between liturgically significant states of existence. These containers exist as artifacts on our sites.

2.2.3 Permitted Disclosure Between Liturgical Spaces

Cult spaces have long been recognized as cosmological maps which demarcate, by their design, the categories and configurations of their adherents' universe. Particular spaces may be closed off with various kinds of barriers, including stepped platforms, screens and full-height walls. Those physical barriers permit liturgically significant spaces to be enclosed and traffic between one space and another to be controlled. Where such control is effected by means of physical barriers, the latter are visible in the archaeological record. The cult sites in our study appear to be characterized by enclosed spaces, but that enclosure is never impermeable--there always seems to be an opening between one space and another on the liturgical stage.

Such openings imply that, in the cosmological map for this liturgical space, no matter how controlled the sanctuary, its inner spaces are never completely private. Although the avenues of access are restricted by the use of physical barriers, traffic between these contained spaces and the exterior is never fully prevented. The route by which such spaces are made accessible is almost inevitably through intermediary spaces, so that disclosure between the street and the sanctuary happens by means of doorways, corridors and intermediary rooms. Thus passageways between one liturgical space and another appear to have been as equally contained and bounded as the internal spaces of the inner *sanctum* but they are passageways nonetheless.

The cosmological map is, therefore, a highly controlled structure where the liturgical spaces exhibit enclosure, containment and boundedness, where access to those spaces is also controlled, but where movement through them is always permitted by means of formal portals. Traffic between ordinary and sacred realms may have been equally structured and shielded from the mundane by permeable barriers through which access is permitted by means of regulated channels. When we adopt hypotheses about the permeable barriers within and between liturgical spaces, the coin finds, architecture and furnishings of a cult site exhibit the degree to which interconnectedness between realms was tolerated in these communities. Although highly controlled and carefully structured by specific routes of access, cult site and community are an interconnected whole.

2.3 Patterns of Exclusivity: Maintaining the Structure

Where traffic between realms is easily tolerated and interconnectedness prevalent, the integrity of the structure as a whole is placed at risk. Unless movement is regulated by stable structures, necessary continuity and stability are lost to chaos and confusion. We find, in the same model, devices for containing the risk and holding together the dynamism of interconnectedness which counters the inherent disorder of permitted disclosure and may serve to

establish "powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations" (Geertz, 1973:90).

2.3.1 Separating Out The Most Sacred Spaces

Movement between liturgical spaces may be countered by physically barricading and elevating that portion of interior architecture which is reserved for activities involving communication with the powerful and mysterious Sacred. In the cult buildings of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, raised platforms were commonly a central feature in internal cult spaces. Thus a small portion of the ground plan is set apart and raised up from the common floor.

By virtue of its location at centre stage, the *bema* supports and sets apart significant ritual from that which is otherwise ordinary and peripheral to cult purposes. The latter activity is relegated to the more common spaces in the building. Separation and elevation of this space is further confirmed in some cases by the height and opacity of screens and walls. These barriers suggest that access is more tightly controlled and perhaps restricted to qualified persons. By separating out the most important ritual space, and raising its value above other adjacent space, the *bema* and other barriers illustrate the degree to which relative exclusivity, and the inevitably hierarchical relationships they reflect, were accepted in the religious life of the community.

2.3.2 Closing Off The Sacred: The Clergy

The partial enclosure of the *bema*, at centre stage, from the remainder of cult space, by means of steps, screens and rails, implies that some but not all of the liturgical participants would be inhibited by these boundaries. Thus some participants were welcomed to prescribed spaces, while others were restricted. To restrict access for some implies that those permitted passage were a religiously qualified elite for which special privileges are available, namely access to restricted spaces and the knowledge of realms those spaces symbolize.

Where partitioned space is closed off and entry is by means of many intermediary rooms which are themselves closed off and increasingly less accessible except to a privileged few, it implies that holy things are not normally kept in the arena of ordinary folk. Sacred realms were distinct from common spaces, just as ordinary folk and everyday life were to be differentiated from the *religiosi* and ethereal domains in which they operated. Ordinary folk could gain access, but only indirectly through the representation by the religiously qualified. In this setting, a religious elite could keep itself consecrated, as befitted their service in holy things. Although the ordinary folk of their constituency were necessary, they represented only minor players. They were, in essence, secondary or tertiary participants in the central liturgical performance carried out by their representatives. The immediate participants were the religiously

qualified who had special status by virtue of their role and who may well have been able to carry out their duties without spectators.

Their control over potential change, wrought by continuous traffic between the mundane and the sacred, was maintained by regulating traffic flow. Controlling entry means admitting only those who conform to the requirements of entry and forcing the rest to rely on delegates. In this way, the most critical site of *the numinous* was progressively set further away from the people, its location segregated in various degrees, so that ordinary adherents could obtain religious services only from the qualified. The *virtuosi* then gained significant social and religious power, since they held both right of access and knowledge of the protocol by which such service was delivered. When the ordinary folk were in need of cultic services, they gain them only through the cult-maintained legitimacy of persons, places and routes of access in the site.

2.3.3. Closing Off The Sacred: Bureaucratic Insulation

The cult site was therefore a place in which the members of the larger community obtain access, albeit controlled, to those rituals, objects, places or persons which were thought to transmit between sacred and ordinary realms. When that transmission required special knowledge or qualifications, the ordinary adherent was in need of some assistance. Cult staff resident in the building would, by their proximity, be in a particularly able position to act as

delegate when an adherent sought to traverse the routes between the ordinary and holy realms.

Where provision of those services was especially complex and also dangerous to any except those qualified by their special knowledge, staff were compelled to take up representation of ordinary adherents. By accepting delegates to act on their behalf, ordinary folk insulated themselves from the sacred, keeping a safe distance from holy things. When the extent and complexity of special knowledge required for the carrying out of sacred offices was restricted to those educated by adepts, any directly participatory roles could also be restricted to these self-evident members of a learned elite. Sacred knowledge was kept internal, its expression formalized and its transmission routinized. This process permitted the hierarchical structure to maintain itself against the transitional influences of interconnection.

For the cult to initiate and perpetuate this process, the forces of transition and dissolution acting upon the community must be met with equally powerful acts of maintenance. Acts of maintenance included the preservation and elaboration of hierarchical relationships among those holding special knowledge, and to that end we may also expect growth in the size and complexity of staff facility. Cult staff provided leadership especially in minor religious matters, sorting out conflicts and confusions which erode social cohesiveness. They governed regulations about those aspects of language, ritual practice, ethics and belief which preserve the general order of existence

as they knew it. Excessive demands on the cult staff may have resulted in the acquisition of various assistants and other persons to whom some minor ritual responsibilities had been delegated and we do find provision for them in the physical plant of the ancient cult site. The inevitable result of such demands is provision for large numbers of functionaries along with complexity in the bureaucratic tangles through which ordinary folk went in order to communicate with the upper realms. Feeding on the cults' own vitality, ritual systems were elaborated to make extensive use of available support staff who work in the facilities provided by the cult institution.

2.3.4 The Threshold: Embellishing the Portal

One of the most prevalent aspects of these cult buildings is the propensity to highly decorate the windows, doors, walls and other openings with barriers that lead from the street to the interior, as well as between chambers inside the building. These portal decorations are permanent, often carved in stone on the sills, lintels and jambs of the building. Particularly subject to considerable decorative effort are the liturgically significant spaces at centre stage and the openings between them.

If our hypothesis holds, these cult buildings were used in a highly-structured social environment where structural preservation was in constant tension with a rich dynamism of transition and transformation. In this environment, openings introduced the possibility of blending between otherwise

separate and discrete religiously significant spaces, and they were therefore auspicious and even dangerous. They are a liminal threshold; 'a blend of states and no state at all' (Turner, 1969:97). Such openings endanger the perceived stability against which each bounded space is otherwise self-contained. By festooning those areas of instability with a multitude of auspicious forms and images having richly symbolic references, the openings and the fluidity they allow are fixed, and stabilized in the overall symbolic network of the community. Decorations at portals make them resonant with symbolic meanings that unify and formalize passages between liturgically significant realms.

2.4 The Inscriptions: Structure and Transience

One of the most heavily investigated artifact classes has been the corpus of inscriptions, which in some cases have been, in more recent times, removed from the site to museums or directly to the antiquities markets. Inscriptions are very frequently published separately from artifacts on these sites. Found inside the sanctuary, or on the lintels and jambs of doors and windows, the inscriptions provide us with written text, however brief and cryptic, in languages so familiar to us from the ancient libraries that their discovery during excavation tends to be greeted and reported with far greater enthusiasm than their content would perhaps merit.

Some texts are quite fragmentary and even the complete ones are generally quite short and in the form of cryptic epitaphs. They range from indecipherable fragments of single characters to complete names, phrases and sentences. Content is most commonly that of brief epigrams and names, although a few words and forms are close enough to those found in canonical texts that this material has been analyzed to exhaustion where it exhibits a clear relation to the ancient library.

2.4.1 Hierarchical Relationships

In cult site inscriptions, the structure of hierarchy is firmly reiterated in the language of status and power even though it is cross-cut by the free-flowing language of *communitas*. Hierarchical relationships between members of the community and the divine, between members of families and among cult officers, staff and professionals. All are clearly visible in the language and content of the inscriptions. In these religious buildings, the divine is frequently the subject of petitions as well as statements of assurance but the route to divine audience is peopled by intermediaries who are named and their assistance appealed in diverse circumstances. The use of personal and professional titles, and other patterns in the placement of inscriptions relative to religiously significant locations in the sanctuary, makes it abundantly clear that some of the objects and persons so commemorated may have held greater significance than others.

2.4.2 Social Status and Donations

Beyond their obvious economic value to the ancient cult, donations also figure in reiterating social structure. Donations of significant value may have conferred status upon the donor who then found him or herself among the *collegium* of the privileged. Having established one's name in the *locus* of the cult by means of appropriate endowments, the donors set themselves apart from the generic community and confirmed, by such symbols, their special status with its attendant rights and privileges.

Exclusionary reiterations of privilege, are however, continually countered by avenues of inter-zone exchange between the cult and the community and between the community and its religious object--the divine realm. Flowing in one direction, once built, the expenditures which arose from the life and business of the cult were met by an inflowing stream of donations, tithes and gifts³⁴. Contributing toward the urban community, the cult supported the social and economic network of the town by an outflowing supply of services.

³⁴. Both churches and synagogues have in common a repertoire of donative inscriptions in which the language reflects this particular redistributive system. This may not be the case for all types of cult buildings in all places.

2.4.3 Linguistic Selection and Congregational Identity

In spite of their exclusionary force, the language used in the inscription is rarely as private as are, for example, the cryptic phrasings of the Mishnah or the (until very recently) secret revelations of the *Merkavah*. The content of these epigrams is, at face value, quite common, requiring only the most basic literary knowledge to understand the plain meaning of the inscription. Although secondary and tertiary levels of significance may have existed, as with mystical texts of the day, the plain meaning of the inscription is relatively clear and available. Judging from the use of two or even three different languages on the same site, these cults were multi-lingual, making the same inscription available to all of the adherents who might have been members of a number of different linguistic communities.

The exchange networks within which cult buildings operated included the supply of material goods for cult treasures, but the inscriptions also suggest that the cult institutions operated as brokers for "goods and services" of a sacred nature. Blessings, formulae and admonitions, added to the inscriptional record of donation, suggest that the donor expected that their tangible supplications, often in the form of donations would engender some response from Heaven or from posterity. Patrons desired "salvation" and "blessing" for themselves or family members; they wanted "remembrance" or "peace". It would appear that these commodities were available from metaphysical realms through cult institutions and their staff.

2.4.4 Living and Dead Revered Persons

Names of revered personalities are inscribed on cult sites. The formulaic addresses to these persons indicate, however, that they may have been as often dead as living. While addressed in inscriptions, the dead were also actually present on cult sites in the form of burial pits and caves containing bones, relics and other items symbolic of the living existence of those now dead. These burials have, therefore, a religious aspect granted by virtue of their location on the cult site. People who were once alive and now are dead, but retain relationships to the living, represent yet another transmigrational image. Burials and tombs become a focus for continuing the social relationships between the living and the now-dead.

As well, and more significantly for adherents, the dead are now residents of the afterlife and, located in closer proximity to divine spheres, the dead are in a peculiar position to assist the living by petitioning on their behalf. The dead facilitate the connection between ordinary life and sacred realms. By burying the corporal remains of persons at liturgically significant locations, and by inscribing their own names, or that of the (now dead) person to whom they appeal in the cult building, adherents have ensured that their interests are being protected in realms profoundly beyond their corporeal reach.

2.5 Common and Uncommon Knowledge: Art and Symbol

In the systemic view of culture, art forms, employed to decorate the cultic environment were symbolic and intensely meaningful. They carry social and religious implications among those people who share the same cultural milieu. Aside from the aesthetic and technical quality of these forms, in these cult sites we find repetitive use of a limited range of motifs set in predictable patterns that amount to a formal system of expression. Art forms are, therefore, part of a visual communicative system. Supported by an established lexicon and a predictable syntax, symbolic information could be tightly compressed into compact visual images comprising an effective shorthand. The forms provide the lexicon of representations, while their arrangements suggest a coherent syntax. Where they were understood to have a range of meanings, limited and shared by various components in the cult site population, the forms and their arrangements constituted a communication code operating on different levels of meaning.

2.5.1 Limiting The Vocabulary: The Established Stock

The encoded content of art forms would be generally available where the observer possessed the knowledge to understand it. Their symbolic values, at the most basic levels, were relatively uncomplicated and embodied a plain meaning available to the population at large. By freely disseminating ordinary

knowledge about the content of visual codes, the cult established the plain meanings which are subsequently held as common knowledge. By this device, the social connection between the adherent and the cult was strengthened. The community's sense of belonging was reinforced by their knowledge of the shared symbolic values visible in the decorations of the building.

2.5.1.2 Plain and Allegorical Meanings

However, juxtaposing this force for social cohesion between community and cult is the power of the visual symbol to exclude. Its resonances beyond that of common meanings would have been silent to those who, through choice or situation, remained ignorant of the esoteric references hidden under the plain meaning of a symbol. By restricting to a privileged few the knowledge of reference fields which operate at increasingly esoteric levels, the motif could act symbolically both to include all members of a population in their plainest associations and to exclude, by keeping its secret meanings hidden except to those properly taught in the subtleties of its symbolic expression.

Differently valued levels of meanings for art motifs, structured on the basis of restricted knowledge, may well have been a catalyst for those, so learned, to claim for themselves the exclusive expression of a privileged knowledge that was, in their view, the closer echo of divine intentions. Denigration of the plain meaning, as mere common knowledge nearly equal to ignorance, would act to separate the learned, by virtue of their knowledge, into

a distinct class of specially qualified persons. With secrets thus known only through them, these *virtuosi* would have found the most efficient way to discover the nature of divinity, rendering them to be powerful persons indeed. An hierarchy of knowledge about visual symbols thus reinforces the exclusionary nature of a system which elevates learned persons to positions of social and moral authority.

2.5.2 Distributing Knowledge Of The Lexicon

There may be resonances in the symbol subset which are part of a vocabulary of exclusion for any but the privileged. Uncommon knowledge of cult art, for which forms and plainest meanings originate in a this-worldly context, may consist of knowing the allegorical meanings which associated images with apparently innocuous stories. By associating visual images with moral tales and hiding esoteric meanings underneath their more commonly known associations, images could be a means to educate as carriers of tales while at the same time disseminating secret knowledge to a strictly limited audience of the informed. Learned staff would be in a particularly apt place to study and absorb the subtleties of symbolic expression in the images which decorated the cult. Acting in staff positions in the cult would have lent these learned souls powerful religious and cultural authority with which to reinforce, and perhaps to shape, the common knowledge among ordinary souls. They could also reveal, to adherents they deem specially qualified to receive such

knowledge, their own interpretations of uncommon lessons. Thus the visual symbols lend themselves to exclusion when there are multiple levels of meaning hidden in their natural ambiguity. These levels are made progressively accessible only to those who are disciples, as they delve into an ever deepening special knowledge under the tutelage of religious magisteriates.

2.5.2.1 Placing Art Motifs: Structured Associations

Although the technical or aesthetic quality varies considerably, an exhaustive dissection of the entire vocabulary of motifs in our sample yields a total of less than 300 different images. Frequently used images represent a much smaller selection of this lexicon. It is this pattern of selection from the larger catalogue of available images which suggests that many, although not all, motifs may operate as part of a formal symbolic code. The subset of very popular motifs and images represented a corpus of encoded symbols which reinforce the shared and common religious and cultural 'plain' meanings. This limited vocabulary of permitted images and complexes of images and the minimal range of variation within this set, suggests that common knowledge made possible an established stock of themes appropriate to cult sites. The themes were formal, their motifs were deemed conventional and their arrangements and placements conformed to a few basic rules.

This formality in cult site art motif selection and arrangement suggests a complex and rich, but necessarily rigid, symbolic code. To have the reference

fields of symbols shifting among all sectors of the population would inherently destabilize the process of accumulating, building upon and passing advanced knowledge on to disciples. Common knowledge provides the foundation of plain meaning, sufficient for the ordinary folk, but the aspirant who seeks to understand the finer points of a theology of art forms must be taught by those who are knowledgeable. The cult site and its staff would form the ideal 'school of higher learning'.

At common levels, each motif had a stable and precisely defined place in the decorative scheme of things; clear associations exist between the motif, its neighbours and its location in the building. The learning which would have been built upon such firm foundations could have been closely governed so that its more obtuse secrets were hidden even where their outer forms are obvious. Lack of knowledge rendered them unintelligible to those who cannot decode much more elaborate and complex secondary and tertiary levels of meanings.

Formal classification and a tightly controlled distribution of the simple meanings of a limited repertoire of art forms would have kept stable the common, basic and shared vocabulary of religious symbols, without limiting the learned elite. For the latter, the necessary knowledge of the vocabulary and syntax of such a code would have been learned in a social environment having an explicitly classified, strongly controlled quality of life (Douglas, 1973:77). By controlling the common lexicon and syntax of religious symbols and keeping their uncommon knowledge to themselves, cult staff were able to maintain

stability in the face of competing individuals who might have felt called upon to exploit the common knowledge in potentially disruptive, unique and charismatic religious roles.

2.5.3 Images of Culture In The Cult

Religion, in Berger's view (1967:25) represents the means by which human beings establish the hierarchies and classifications which governed social interaction. The erection of a religious explanation to this order and predictability gave sanction and thus imposed order upon otherwise intolerable chaos. Referents which reinforce that teleology are found in the social dimensions of religion. Religion establishes conceptual "worlds" which in turn are maintained by social reinforcement and legitimation (Berger 1967:29-31). The public cult building and its related institutions, located at the nexus of cosmic and human realms, are intricate parts of the structure which make the cosmic framework plausible. The sacred referents of symbols in public cult buildings were intricately bound to cultural activities and symbolize an ordered framework both social and religious.

Cult buildings are, therefore, one point at which we meet both fundamental ideas about the cosmos and the mundane questions of human interaction which together structured the fragile social world. These buildings symbolized the patterns which unified, reiterated and exemplified the basic classifications and processes for "what was" according to the shared

perceptions of individuals who were adherents of the cult. Cult buildings were part of a matrix of sacred symbols which functioned to "synthesize a people's ethos" (Geertz 1973:89). Their meanings were collectively shared and were resonant of the nature of things, visible formulations of "what was." These buildings therefore represent a critical and important vehicle by which meaning reverberated throughout the social web, in all of the various subsystems, to unify, support and legitimate shared perceptions of reality.

The perception of structural congruence between one set of processes, activities, relations, entities and so on and another set for which it acts as a program, so that the program can be taken as a representation or conception--a symbol--of the programmed is the essence of human thought. (Geertz: 1973:96)

As symbols fundamentally bound to social and cultural structure, cult decorations were woven in and through the entire range of human cultural activity and served to support and synthesize the experiences which lent order to otherwise fragmented experience (Berger, 1967:25).

In the language of the culture systems, the interior anatomy of the unified cultural matrix (viewed from religious sites) has form and structure. There are categories and hierarchical relationships prevailing in the deployment of liturgical spaces and artistic forms. This structure supports the theory that, as there might have existed differently valued domains of sacred and mundane life, there may also have existed differently valued roles for staff, liturgical spaces and furnishings of the cult site. The pattern lends stability to a cultural

pattern replete with highly controlled images of transformation and migration between domains.

In these ancient sites, the boundaries of stable structures were, apparently, constantly crossed by a series of routes of interconnection which permit exchange, transition and disclosure between differently valued realms. The inevitable tension between maintaining rigid and exclusive religious categories and permitting intercourse that was inherently destabilizing of them, was a struggle between maintenance of the structure and its dissolution. To maintain the structure, these cult buildings exhibited a formally encoded, symbolic language. It had sufficient depth and complexity that it enfolded within itself many layers of meaning, ranging from most basic and common knowledge to an highly restricted, and more perhaps elaborate series of codes hiding uncommon secrets for all but an informed elite.

When that knowledge and the elite who held it were the vehicles by which the ordinary folk were representated in sacred realms, the religious authority of the elite became, necessarily, the social authority in the congregation. By virtue of cult's integration with the cultural ethos, they gained leadership of the community as a whole. These special persons and their routes of access between discrete nodes in the cosmological canopy are guarded by physical and symbolic barriers, restricted codes and iterative patterns which reinforce and stabilize the classificatory images of culture in the public cult building.

If we are to better understand these aspects of the religious and cultural life of Jews and Christians in Antiquity, we need, then, to bring to a wider perspective to public cult sites. The site evidence which we study provides broadly-based grounds for comparison according to a number of thematic hypotheses which arise out of an integrative, wholistic model of culture. As we shall see, variation in the overall attribute profile of sites yields evidence of regional differences in cult practices. In the context of this more thorough measure of general similarity, the new roads are opened and new questions, which leave the matter of confessional identity behind, are brought to the fore. In addition, examination of individual sets of attributes within artifact classes brings before us a display of religious habits which go far beyond the matter of which sites were inhabited by Jews and which others by Christians.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY: FINDING PATTERNS IN THE DATA

3.1 Finding Patterning In Site Data

The results reported in the final chapter of this dissertation were generated by two separate and independent, but complementary, approaches to the archaeological material. These approaches are methodologically independent of each other but their data come from the same set of sites. Together, they increase the range of available data and broaden our perspective on ancient cult sites. One is familiar while the other is experimental. The methodology of the latter is discussed in detail in this chapter. Each approach is treated as an independent method, although subject matter does overlap and results from one may contribute to the other. The reader is cautioned that we do not intend to be encyclopedic or definitive in our results. Rather, our intent is that we introduce the possibility of a wider contribution from cult site data than that which has been governed by the confessional agenda.

We begin, then, with the approach which is most familiar to us. Typically, in studies of cult sites, we describe, classify and analyze artifact attributes according to their type and the number of examples we find on a site or group of sites. This information is then used as proof and illustration during the development of one or more general hypotheses which become the actual

subject at hand. In this approach, the specific information about individual sites and the origin and provenance of the artifacts are incidental and are selected according to principles derived from the hypothesis rather than from the records of site discovery.

Selecting among noteworthy attributes in this way has been typical of exploratory research for ancient churches and synagogues but, as we have said, it requires working hypotheses. Even though evidence from any of the site record is fragmented according to theorems brought from elsewhere, preparing these hypotheses does form a kind of analysis of field data. That is, the artifact classes can be used as a framework in the analysis in order to ensure that we compare apples to apples. However, in this approach, maintaining all of the artifact data from any one site as an integral unit is neither a restriction nor something desired.

Here, we will use a systematic treatment of descriptive data from excavations on various sites in order to compare selected individual and groups of attributes. Those selections are significant according to an hypothesis. They are meant to help in determining the character of individual facets of occupation within and, comparatively, between sites. In this approach, the taxonomic unit is the relevant attribute feature or features, taken from various sites, which are then related to a central hypothesis.

However, since we work with archaeological data, to support some theoretical argument, proper usage requires that we respect the basic axiom

which gives the stones their "voice". We cannot compare apples and oranges. For artifacts to be classified, compared or otherwise treated together, they must originate from approximately the same geographical area and the same time period. In view of this requirement, we modify our familiar approach and restrict our source material to a group of sites having roughly the same territorial and chronological origin. The same need for methodological control governs our assertion that documentation must be adequate. We seek to level the comparative playing field so that the 'voices' of lesser known sites are not drowned out by a few well known monuments. Under these requirements, cult sites from approximately the same time period and place can contribute more or less equally to the analysis.

Resting the points of analytical departure on a theoretical agenda did lead to informative results, but there is a complementary alternative. Following that alternative path, we wish to experiment with the use of artificial intelligence and automatic pattern recognition in order to see if some other clustering of data might be discernible, perhaps overlooked or missed by researchers using the confessional hypothesis as the primary framework for their analysis. For comparative purposes, we use the same sites as those chosen for our more familiar approach. This foray into artificial intelligence is original and unique with respect to Near Eastern site material and to ancient cult sites in particular.

So, from a cluster analysis of similarity coefficients for our sites, we develop the hypothesis concerning culture regions. In a study of this type, the

site is the taxonomic unit (Q-type) while attribute states are merely present or absent. Further description of attributes is incidental to their site origin. As a result, voluminous descriptions can be condensed to a coefficient that is relevant to other measures, similarly derived and contained in a matrix. In this way, sites can be quickly compared to one another on basis of a cumulative description of a full attribute inventory. This matrix of coefficients is then available for pattern recognition assays which seek to expose the patterning or "degrees of similarity" among these sites. This approach was experimental, and it must be understood throughout that the analytical process done with artificial intelligence must continue in a separate study which would be the logical follow-up to this research³⁵. Nevertheless, these preliminary and experimental Q-type assays do support an hypothesis of regions of site similarity, from which we extract our culture regions.

The patterning which led to site similarity and culture regions was discovered using techniques which are more at home in the emerging discipline of pattern recognition than in religion or archaeology. Because archaeological

³⁵We were unable in this study, mostly for practical and technical reasons, to invert this analysis so that attributes might become the taxonomic unit (R-type). Such a project represents a major research effort. A way has yet to be found to select from among all of the more than 800 attributes available. Most statistical programs have limits on the number of variables they can handle (**Systat**, for example, can allow a maximum of 256 variables). When we discuss which attributes might be "most important", and then select according to subjective criteria, we risk imposing an agenda on the data so that the results correspond more to self-fulfilling prophecy than to the artifactual correlations which prevailed on ancient cult sites.

descriptive data are empirical, their interpretation begins with extrapolation from the physical properties and arrangements of artifacts on sites. That is why these data could be adapted to pattern recognition techniques. Pattern studies of explicitly described field discoveries provided the basis from which we follow, for synagogues and churches together, the programme put forth by Neusner. He argued that:

...we have to interpret the restricted symbolic vocabulary of the synagogue by finding out which of these particular items have been chosen out of a much longer list of available forms and representation. (Neusner 1981:9).

Patterning assays also permit us to study the artifactual corpus as a whole so that the reading of symbolic meaning from the textual evidence is deemed relevant only after:

...the whole corpus...once more has been subjected to systematic study and interpretation, now on a much more complex grid (Neusner 1981:12)

Presentation and interpretation of the site data, 'on its own terms', as Goodenough (1954) sought to do, is thus made possible by pragmatic, technological developments. Through pattern recognition performed on the archaeological record, we can re-examine the inner organization of a huge mass of data which comprises a large sample of known site assemblages.

Attribute studies and pair-wise pattern recognition are two points of departure among many. The author recognizes that there may be attribute variables which are theoretically significant to religion but are incidental to

measures of site similarity. Also, there may be relationships between attributes which are theoretically significant, or relationships in the juxtapositions of data that do not reflect in single variables alone. There may also be theoretically non-significant variables which add to, rather than clarify, the noise in our data. However, one must start somewhere. The first steps we take must, of necessity, set aside (but do not ignore) these problems since the sheer complexity of overcoming these limitations will utilize resources of documentation, time and cross-disciplinary expertise which are not currently available. Rather, this work is presented as exploratory -- this author sought to limit the problems to be tackled in order to lay a careful foundation from which future studies can work.

If our explorations had uncovered a three-part classification concurrent with confessional structure, we could affirm that that framework continues to provide a viable taxonomy to classify and explain cultural, social and especially religious activity on these ancient cult sites. Thus, if the sites had sorted, on the basis of a detailed attribute inventory, into the confessional taxonomy, we could have been much more certain that ancient villagers understood and distinguished their religious communities as discretely Christian, Jewish and "other". On this basis, the confessional categories would have continued to be acceptable as one aspect of our explanation for the features found on ancient cult sites.

However, even if these populations had so understood and distinguished their communities, the confessional description does not adequately "explain" or help to interpret the cult site features we find. The systems of organization in site materials are considerably more voluminous than one might surmise from the small portion of site data currently in circulation among scholars of ancient Judaism and Christianity. Further, it is that existence of that volume and complexity which becomes the primary *datum* in our struggle to understand the religious life of the people who once used these sites. These results lead us toward the conclusion that the social and religious taxonomies in this material culture do not fit decisively or even comfortably into any single, or simple, model.

3.2 Using Pattern Recognition

Without always being aware of it, human beings function successfully in the social environment by engaging in both subtle and obvious forms of pattern recognition every day of their lives³⁶. Although admittedly less successful at the non-quantifiable arts of human survival than are humans, artificial intelligence is able to imitate and automate the pattern-reading process. By doing so, pattern recognition technology has allowed researchers to develop ways to bring to our awareness the otherwise hidden and embedded

³⁶ Their success at doing so is a measure of their ability to read and respond appropriately to the social clues embedded in those patterns.

regularities in tedious masses of data too complex for human beings to easily process.

Current technology in pattern recognition has gone in several directions. The exploration of syntactic and linguistic problems, encountered by computers and robots as they process and transmit visual images, is a particularly active field. However, pattern recognition also refers to the discovery, analysis and synthesis of patterning manifested in a given set of empirical objects; among them cloud formations, fabric and leather textures, DNA molecule arrangements, symptoms of medical ailments, and other widely disparate themes (Kanal, 1974). Within each of these sets of objects, the attributes and their relationships are tested and dissected with a variety of processes. These tests are put through numerous repetitions in order to uncover the patterning within. Since our data (i.e. the descriptive features of a series of archaeological sites) are empirical and controlled for comparative purposes, a basic group of automated pattern recognition procedures could be adapted and employed. These studies yielded possibilities for the development of new hypotheses about religious life from the patterned remains in the cult sites.

3.2.1 Selecting The Sample

In order to begin the study of cult sites as a series of patterned sets, it was necessary to select a working sample which met requirements for drawing relationships among archaeological sites. A number of criteria were established

to minimize the effect of much missing data -- a normal state for archaeological material -- which undermines the reliability of the statistical processes and comparative algorithms from which automated pattern recognition begins.

If we include, in our source material, excavation reports, survey results and otherwise unfounded textual references, the reported "population" of sites is more than 900 in the Mediterranean basin alone, but the best known and most thoroughly researched sites are found within the Levant, especially the territory of ancient Palestine. That fact proved to set our first criterion. The sample was chosen from this area, or more specifically, within the 235 C.E. boundaries of Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Secunda, with the primary emphasis being placed on the internal reaches of the territory rather than on its boundary. Also, since we must begin with an empirical set, this sample was restricted to archaeological sites which exist at known locations. Including sites whose location is known only by vague generalities (i.e. "somewhere in the area of Tell Aviv") would have resulted in excessive missing data in a base already riddled with unknowns. These potential sites were, for this study at least, set aside until further information becomes available.

Second, the most complete descriptions come from sites which had been excavated and recorded with reasonable attention to the archaeological principles of horizontal and vertical control. These principles were more likely to have been adopted in post-1950 excavations although many earlier reports were thorough enough for our purposes. Formally known as the Wheeler-

Kenyon³⁷ method, these principles require that sites have a reference system which coordinates the discoveries *in situ* of phases, levels, objects and other features. With the use of a site-wide recording grid, the reconstruction of the original character of the site is systematically guided by horizontal and vertical referents that permit us to perpetuate, as they were found, the stratigraphic, chronological and spatial relationships between different elements of the site.

Third, again to minimize the effects of missing data, a description of, at least, the broad categories³⁸ of the attribute groups were required. These broad categories are the basic building blocks of artifactual description: coins, architecture, inscriptions, site situations and art forms. To accommodate variable levels of explicitness in the reports, the earliest of which date from the turn of our century, the attribute list was formulated on several levels ranging from general to specific. This approach allowed for the different degrees of explicit description while providing a systematic basis by which to compare sites.

³⁷ This method has been widely adopted by modern archaeologists. A discussion of these principles can be found in almost any archaeology primer and is usually covered in detail in any excavation handbook. See for example, **Hesi: The Tell el-Hesi Field Manual** by Jeffrey Blakely and Lawrence Toombs (ASOR 1980:5-25 and **A Guide to Basic Archaeological Field Procedures** by K.R. Fladmark, Dept of Archaeology Simon Fraser University, Publication #4, 1978:883-96.

³⁸ In the Attribute List, provided in the Technical Appendix which follows this chapter, the 'broad categories' are shown in bold and underlined type.

The fourth criterion required that the occupation of the site, or the respective phase of a multi-strata site, be known to fall between the first century and the mid-seventh century. Few buildings of the type called synagogues and churches date from before the second century³⁹. Our *terminus a quo* for synagogues and churches coincides, more or less, with the historical appearance, of the buildings so identified. The *terminus ad quem* coincides with the cultural horizon created by the arrival, for conquest, of the Muslim forces to the area which coincides, by scholarly consensus, more or less with the year 635. Since dating parameters on sites are seldom so specific and horizons of cultural change less so, that year, during which Jerusalem was overtaken by Muslim forces, is chosen as a convenient *terminus* for our study. Selection according to these criteria is designed to permit us to concentrate on a manageable sample of sites.

The selection of sites so dated, of course, follows upon the second criterion regarding the quality of the excavation. However, sites so selected must also be dated according to acceptable archaeological techniques. These techniques almost always mean references to master chronologies⁴⁰

³⁹ A possible exception has recently been claimed for Shu'afat in North Jerusalem (reported in the Aug 9, 1991 issue of *Ha'aretz*) where the excavator claims to antedate the earliest known synagogues by several centuries. The support for the claim is controversial (electronic communication reported on ioudaios@yorkuvm1.bitnet by Alan Cooper, acooper@ucbeh.bitnet).

⁴⁰ Dating is the inferential process of placing a building into a chronology which might be absolute or relative. It becomes a delicate process of examination, documentation and collation of clues with all of the attendant uncertainties.

developed out of empirical studies of ceramics, epigraphy, numismatics, and small-object typologies. Stylistic chronologies for art and architecture remain controversial and dependence on these claims alone usually have proven to be too unspecific for our purposes. In cases where the date was controversial, a site was included if the range between one or the other of the disputed dates for initial occupation was within a century.

In meeting all of the above criteria, we were able to establish a sample upon which our analysis will proceed⁴¹. This selection provided a reasonably reliable comparative basis for inference concerning the nature of cult life in these buildings. The automated nature of the analysis is designed to filter through a large mass of complex and variable data and in so doing to render explicit the comparative continuities and discontinuities which lie between these cult sites.

Chronological indicators should be multiple, a synthesis re-confirmed from the sub-specialties of ceramics, stratigraphy, epigraphy and numismatics. Certainty rests in the agreement of as many different kinds of evidence as possible, with independent validation (usually clear references in historic texts) preferred in order to balance the uncertainties which rest within each of the relative master chronologies.

⁴¹ A list of the 173 sites which met these criteria is provided in Results: Technical Appendix 4D (located at the end of the final chapter).

3.2.2 Measuring Site Similarity

In order to re-define the classification of these sites according to empirical descriptors, the many descriptive attributes were isolated and methodically described⁴². During investigation⁴³ of each individual site in the sample⁴⁴, the respective values of each attribute, for each site, were encoded⁴⁵ as present or absent. Additional code characters were available for unknown and uncertain data. The resulting code string for each site was

⁴² The attribute list provides a catalogue of the available attributes for cult sites. To enhance manageability, these attributes were divided into five artifact classes: Coins, Architecture, Site Situation, Inscriptions and Art Motifs. This list is provided in Technical Appendix 3A at the end of this chapter.

⁴³ A comprehensive Site Bibliography can be found in Results: Technical Appendix 4F (located at the end of the fourth chapter of the dissertation). In the main text, any bibliographic source cited in specific relationship to a site name can be found in this Bibliography. There, sites are listed in alphabetical order by site name as it is found in the authority index of the sample listing (Appendix 4D) and the keyword authority cross-index (Appendix 4E).

⁴⁴ The sample is accidental rather than random, a heterogenous assemblage of values which we "cannot assume to have been randomly sampled" (Sokal and Sneath 1973:162). Random samples of frequency counts can be measured for representativeness and margins of error with both parametric and non-parametric statistical methods. However the fundamental assumptions, customary for sampling distributions of the normal curve, cannot be justified in this case.

⁴⁵ A description of the encoding procedures and a discussion of the special problems created by the non-systematic presentation of evidence in archaeological field reports follows in the technical appendix to this chapter.

automatically transformed⁴⁶ into a site-specific similarity coefficient which could be incorporated into automatic processes.

The similarity coefficient algorithm chosen for the process is unweighted, comparative and intended for non-parametric, nominal data that allows for missing information. By successively matching each of the attribute states (i.e. the characteristic is present or absent) for each pair of sites, the number of possible matches produces an overall measure of affinity between cases. To avoid an impossibly arduous manual task, Program SIMPLE⁴⁷ was created to count the attribute matches in the raw code strings for each pair of sites and convert them into a similarity measure. The algorithm, chosen for its suitability to these archaeological data, thus converted site descriptions into a "pair-wise" similarity coefficient matrix.

Case-by-case similarity was held, here, to pairs of sites but similarity studies can also proceed beyond this elementary level. Creating triplets, by comparing three sites or more at a time, may push more patterns and

⁴⁶ The Simple Matching Coefficient (Ssm) is suited to qualitative data and to situations where conditional and missing values cannot be avoided. Attributes are scored as present, absent, non-applicable, unknown or uncertain (+,-,/,?). This measure proved to be satisfactory for experimental analysis of fibulae (Hodson Sneath and Doran 1966: section 9.1). Ssm is unsuitable for simple presence/absence information where conditional and missing values are not found, in which the Jaccard coefficient would be recommended (Doran and Hodson, 1975:140). A discussion of the coefficient is included in Method: Technical Appendix 3C.

⁴⁷ The program and a description detailing its use is included in the Technical Appendix to this chapter.

correlations to the surface of our awareness. However, given the technical complexity of the task, it was decided that since this is our first approach, in which we are also using highly experimental techniques, we should content ourselves with a fairly general approach. Future work may well push the method beyond these initial stages. In any event, despite our cautious beginning, this first study provided new knowledge of some of the general structures of the data set as well as some important and practical research tools from which subsequent studies can proceed.

3.2.3 Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis⁴⁸ is a familiar tool for statistical work in the social sciences. A case-by-case (Q-type) analysis effectively summarizes the structure of a similarity matrix with respect to overall similarity between cases. Where scientists have taken the approach in biology and in medicine, cluster analysis is used to classify animals or diseases into species according to their manifested physical characteristics (Norusis, 1985:167). The term collectively describes a variety of numerical taxonomic techniques which have been used successfully, some since the late 1960s, to solve the archaeological dilemmas

⁴⁸ See Cowgill (1968), Doran and Hodson (1975), Roberts (1971), Spaulding (1976) and Whallon(1971). The coded raw data matrix is the foundation for further numerical taxonomic procedures. Program SIMPLE was used to produce the matrix input for several different cluster programs.

of artifact chronological seriation and morphological taxonomies⁴⁹. These techniques are "hypothesis generators", designed to "prompt new ideas in analysts" and bring to mind new approaches that may only become self-evident when the data are approached from a new direction. As such, cluster analysis is a tool for suggestion and discovery. It is not in itself a wellspring of either truth or falsehood (Anderberg, 1973:20). Its value for us is that cluster analysis is a "powerful tool for discovering homogeneous groups in data sets." (Anderson, 1973:190). It permits us to approach the observed data from fieldwork on an empirical basis⁵⁰.

Clustering in this study consisted of the application of two different clustering methods, only one of which was able to generate clearly readable clusters on our data⁵¹. Agglomerative hierarchical clustering using single-linkage techniques, was attempted but proved ineffective in defining clear clusters in the data. That ineffectiveness arose from the analytical method by

⁴⁹ There is an extensive literature on numerical taxonomy. (see the many publications by Sokal and Sneath and sources above). For archaeological applications, see Doran and Hodson, (1975). These techniques have generally been applied to pre-historic sites or sites for which no literary tradition is applicable.

⁵⁰ The Q-type (comparing cases) approach was chosen because the selection of attributes for an R-type analysis (comparing variables) requires criteria for that selection and I was unable to develop any that did not beg the question concerning confessional classification. I approached Q-type analysis in the hope that some alternative would emerge as a basis for substantive discussion about matters religious. By measuring overall site to site similarity, we avoid the problem of isolating out, with arbitrary choices, specific 'religiously significant' attributes.

⁵¹ The software is available in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Enhanced version (SPSSx) package (Norusus, 1985: 167-191).

which the program re-organized the matrix. Single linkage employs only the coefficients of the nearest and farthest members of successive groups. Where coefficient values are very close, the "nearest-neighbour" technique is unable to re-organize within the base clusters to which it is adding members as it proceeds through the matrix⁵². Thus, the program relates new members only to the nearest (or farthest) constituent in any cluster and not to the units already in the cluster which have coefficient values mid-way between that range. This lack of finesse made it impossible to interpret the dendograms in any meaningful fashion and these results were set aside.

Since single linkage methods were inconclusive, a second technique (Average Linkage Between Groups, or UPGMA) was performed. The UPGMA method:

⁵² In single linkage methods, one begins with each case representing a separate cluster and proceeds to combine into it those sites which have the next closest coefficients.

One of the simplest methods is single linkage, sometimes called "nearest neighbour." The first two cases combined are those that have the smallest distance (or largest similarity) between them. The distance between the new cluster and individual cases is then computed as the minimum distance between an individual case and a case in the cluster. The distances between cases that have been joined do not change. At every step, the distance between two clusters is the distance between their closest points. (Norusis 1985:169)

The succession of joinings creates a series of clusters which eventually form one large cluster containing the whole sample.

...uses information about all pairs of distances, not just the nearest or the farthest. For this reason it is usually preferred to the single and complete linkage methods of cluster analysis. (Norusis, 1985:169)

UPGMA is able to relate new members to any of the original units in the base cluster(s) which form as the program proceeds through the coefficient matrix. Illustrating these UPGMA relationships in tree diagrams (dendograms) provided enough material to begin the analytic process and permitted the formulation of some initial hypothetical linkages between site similarity and difference, cultural formations and their religious life.

3.2.4 Taking First Steps In Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis is a comprehensive, experimental and repetitive process in which the same data set is tested with a variety of different similarity and distance algorithms and a number of different clustering techniques. To remind the reader: since this is a first pass at the data, we do not claim that these results are definitive. Despite this, in initiating the cluster analysis on this data, we can begin to expose the subtle and complex relationships which might not ordinarily be visible to the human observer. Techniques like these are designed to filter through a large mass of complex and highly variable descriptors and in so doing, wring out the organizational parameters in the data set. True, this first pass is only the beginning of a much more intensive examination of the sample data set. However, "one or more interesting clusters

may lead to inferences about part of this data" (Anderberg, 1973:23), and it is at this point that these analytical techniques can begin to feed the inferential process. Comparing the site arrangements in the dendograms (from the initial pass through each of the artifact classes) to the descriptive details in excavation reports for each of the sites did, in fact, suggest a preliminary hypothesis for the data.

3.3 Artifacts Parallels, Site Relationships

This form of pattern study automates and extends the long-standing practice in archaeology of citing feasible relationships between sites on the basis of parallels between artifacts. The statement is common, in the site reports, that an artifact is similar to another found at another site. Parallels usually mean that an object from one site is similar to another from another site with respect to form and materials. Therefore, (if the excavator pushes the argument) some social relationship might be postulated between sites.

Here, this process of inference is extended and made more precise with respect to the entire range of attributes which describe an object. By automating and expanding the comparative process with the help of artificial intelligence, extensive parallels can be drawn and documented. These relationships are cited on the basis of a very detailed set of attributive characteristics.

3.4 Source Materials

Since only rarely is a scholar of antique religion also an experienced field archaeologist, the "consensus of scholarship" about the religious nature of ancient cult sites rests on those excavation reports disseminated to the academic and lay audience. A survey of these reports provides the ground work for our research into ancient public cult buildings. These sources tell us what has been found in the field, but we also used them here, to provide ourselves with an assessment of how many sites existed in the ancient world.

3.4.1 Excavation Reports

Outside of the historic literature, the reports of these excavators represent the primary source material for those who wish to work with the data gained from field excavation. Generally available under the auspices of learned societies, the most important sponsors of reports are the Archaeological Institute of America (from 1900), The Society of Biblical Literature (beginning 1880), the Israel Exploration Society (from 1920), the Palestinian Exploration Fund (from 1865) and the American Schools of Oriental Research (from 1900). Interest in synagogue archaeology among Israeli, French, German and American excavators remains high, and these "schools" have been the principle contributors to the archaeological data now in our possession. A significant number of synagogue sites have been reported by the pre-Israel expeditions of

Guerin (1874), Condor and Kitchener (1872-74), Clermont-Ganneau (1873), Musil (1902) Mader (1914), Schneider (1929-1933) and de Vaux (1933). However, exposure of buildings by survey and excavation teams such as Kohl and Watzinger in 1904 were sometimes incomplete and resulted in errors (e.g. the floor plan of Gush Halav). They were, however, among the first to provide specific information regarding the plan of extant architectural and decorative remains⁵³. Since Kohl and Watzinger published in 1916, a succession of American excavators in the 1930s and 1940s (especially Sukenik) and in recent years Ori, Yeivin, Tsori, Bahat, Mazar, and Avi-Yonah, Eric and Carol Meyers, Strange and Kraabel have been among those who have opened the ground in pursuit of synagogue data.

Many more churches than synagogues have been reported in the literature although comparatively fewer ancient ecclesiastical buildings have been excavated or reported in sufficient detail to meet our sample requirements. As with synagogues, the surveys of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Mader, Musil, Chitty, Woolley & Lawrence, Condor, Kitchener, Guerin, and Clermont-Ganneau provide the foundation for our knowledge of church sites. From 1929 to 1933, Schneider and DeVaux were among a whole bevy of lesser known scholars who continued to work on church

⁵³ Avi-Yonah devised an architecturally- based, chronological typology for synagogues (the earlier plain basilica, the transitional broad house, and the later basilica with Torah shrine and mosaics), but before his death, rejected it as inadequate. (Avi-Yonah, 1981:273, see further Chiat, 1984:4,5 and Chiat in Gutman 1981:56).

sites. From 1950 onwards, excavations reports by Baramki, Pallas and Avi-Yonah appeared often in the literature. Many sites, first surveyed earlier, have since been re-excavated. In other cases, the ruins are unexcavated, but exist on the surface and are available to both professional and lay observers without the expense of funding major expeditions. Plundered by time, these sites yield the illusion of information without delivering the substance which can be found only in the detailed reports of excavations.

3.4.2 Collected Works

The information from many scattered reports has been, for the benefit of the larger scholastic audience, collected and distilled in catalogues designed to make this otherwise inaccessible information available to those who are studying material from the field. We find roughly matched sets of confessionally discrete catalogues describing either churches or synagogues. Ambiguous sites may or may not be included, depending on the degree of caution preferred by the compiler. Generally only in these cases do we find the arguments of ascription. To examine these catalogues, then, is to examine those data which reach scholars who are academics by training, frequently laypersons rather than specialists of archaeological technology but who, nonetheless, make use of some of their data in interpreting cult practices of Roman and Byzantine populations.

Pagan sites may have had, in common with churches and synagogues, many of the architectural features which define them as temples, i.e. a *temenos* platform and/or enclosures, colonnaded gateways and porches, statuary and inscriptions referring to classical deities. However, the available reports indicate that the vast majority of temples pre-date the period under discussion or exist outside the defined geographical area of study. Less than a dozen sites passed the criteria for inclusion in our sample. In addition, at the beginning of the data collection process which led to this dissertation, the confessional paradigm had been accepted. The plan had been to proceed comparatively. The very small number of 'pagan' samples, therefore, led us to exclude the set in the hope that further research would eventually permit its inclusion. It was decided then to concentrate on the buildings known as churches and synagogues, leaving open the question of temples, theatres, martyria and cave sites. In retrospect, that data set, small as it was, should have been included.

The most important and accessible catalogues in the area of the Holy Land for synagogue archaeological data are those of HÜttenmeister and Reeg (1977) and Chiat (1982). However, with both of these catalogues of archaeological sites, two important questions in archaeology are sidestepped:

1. How one knows whether one has, in fact, stumbled upon an ancient cult site and;
2. Why is that site to be included (as a synagogue) in Jewish tradition rather than another confessional tradition?

No one seems to have a definitive answer for the first. On the second point, Hüttenmeister and Reeg are, on the basis of archaeological data or literary reference, "certain" or "uncertain" regarding any particular site. Chiat rightfully accuses them of being arbitrary and even inaccurate on several occasions (1982:5-6)⁵⁴. For Chiat, synagogues are "validated", "attested" or "disputed (attributed, not accepted)". As do Hüttenmeister and Reeg (1977:xviii), she cites the presence of "Jewish inscriptions and/or motifs", associated with architectural remains as her primary criteria. In the absence of such material proof regarding the identify of the building, Chiat reverts to the consensus of scholars, and to earlier authoritative works in the field (i.e. Kohl and Watzinger 1916, Sukenik 1934⁵⁵) in order to accept the assignment of the site as Jewish.

Finally, because his work is repeatedly described and has been accepted as a major archaeologically-oriented source for the data, we must examine very closely the first three volumes of Goodenough's **Jewish Symbols In The Graeco-Roman Period** (1954-63). The first three volumes are an extensive

⁵⁴. According to Chiat, they rely heavily on an uncritical citation of rabbinic literature, and secondarily on archaeological reports to arrive at a their own conclusion regarding the "certain" or "uncertain" existence of a synagogue, a schoolhouse or a rabbinic court. It is not always clear how the evidence they present leads to their conclusions although they place special emphasis on inscriptions (Hüttenmeister and Reeg (1977:xxii-xix).

⁵⁵. Sukenik's study of archaeological remains of synagogue architecture (1934), is similar in presentation to Crowfoot's study of church architecture (1937), both of which provide a sequence of architectural development in plan and decoration.

catalogue giving ample illustrations of *objects d'art* which, he argues, are evidence of a "mystical" Jewish segment of the Graeco-Roman world. The first two volumes treat regions of the Holy Land, the Diaspora and the unique site of Dura Europos, respectively, while photographs and drawings are published in a third volume. In the introduction to the first volume (Goodenough 1954:24-27) and in the fourth volume, which begins his interpretive material, he recounts his struggle to put forth credible evidence for a Jewish art. Goodenough threw the evidence in the faces of a disbelieving collegium so effectively that he is subsequently cited in every treatment of synagogue art since his publication.

Although Goodenough is to be commended for providing the irrefutable evidence for an art tradition associated with synagogues and perhaps with ancient Judaism, his approach is hardly sensitive to the evidence. He has shown a "museum collection" of artifacts, identified them as "Jewish" and then proceeded with his own explanation in subsequent volumes. He does not consider provenance information for these artifacts. Although most attribution arguments, dates and places of origin were probably unknown, he makes no reference to this possibility. Evidently, he did not feel that basic descriptive detail (measurements of ossuaries, for example) was necessary. Certainly this information would make the value of his collection more substantial as an archaeological resource and would also permit his successors more freedom from his interpretations. Although his *magnum opus* is a watershed work in the interpretation of Jewish art, the very general treatment of the artifacts, without

regard for their specific provenance, and in a confessionally isolationist framework prevents this work from rendering service as an "archaeological" catalogue.

Church buildings⁵⁶ range from the very large imperial basilicas and covered cemeteries in Constantinople and other cities to the smaller *martyria* and chapels of rural Syria discussed by Butler (1929). The architectural details are as diverse as their geographical distribution throughout the ancient world, as is evident from a recent text by Krautheimer (1987). In the ancient world, church, chapel and *martyria* sites displaced earlier synagogue and temple sites (which may have been in turn displaced by a mosque) but for Krautheimer (1987:14-15) and Butler (1929) the topic is the architectural church. These studies of the architecture of church buildings are part of the legacy of historic interest in Roman imperial phenomena. Fascination with Roman construction techniques and materials, and imperial building programs is evident in the types of reference materials and in the information which these texts make available. Rather than providing arguments for the assignment of archaeological remains,

⁵⁶ As for the principle treatment of churches, they continue to have a confessionally exclusive architectural emphasis. In general, accounts of churches provide rarely more than occasional asides to non-church buildings. This narrowness of focus occurs despite the fact that churches and chapels are frequently part of an entire complex of buildings, fortresses, monasteries, baptistries and imperial palaces. By way of exception, there is notable associations between churches and mausolea, leading to a distinct genre of church building called a *martyria*, containing one or more burials, sarcophagi and dedicatory inscriptions, and in imperial mausolea may be associated with a precinct and banquet halls.

these sources for church archaeology are architectural histories of Christianity, confessionally isolated descriptions of changes in floor plan, decoration, and building technique.

Although they be architectural in orientation, the most complete interpretive treatments of church remains are Butler (1929) for Syria, and Krautheimer (1987), with additional reference to Crowfoot (1937) for Palestine. The regional theme is followed succinctly by Butler (and by Krautheimer) who provides a geographic framework for the discussion of architectural developments, ornamental elaborations and floor plan changes which are thought to be responsive to Christian liturgical developments. Crowfoot (1937) is nearly identical in format (studying floor plan developments with a periodization of centuries) to Sukenik's discussion (1934) of synagogues, both of which may be characterized as primers for the chronological development of, respectively, church and synagogue architecture.

Less well known works (Davies, 1953) provide general and supplementary information according to the architectural development framework. These are not catalogues citing argumentation for ascription of sites as churches. Rather they argue for a particular chronological sequence of architectural developments in buildings already assumed to be churches. This same confidence in the consensus of ascription is seen, in the catalogue of

Ovadia (1970 and supplements) for the Holy Land where he provides information for Byzantine churches, as does Chiat's account of synagogues⁵⁷.

Despite archaeologists' adherence to the traditional paradigm, the considerable labour which has gone into the study of Roman and Byzantine public cult buildings can be re-structured. Publications provide the descriptive data from which it becomes possible to investigate patterning in this material from a wider footing. Indeed, examination of the evidence they report shows that the confessional framework does not hold in the midst of other material culture patterns.

⁵⁷ The title of Ovadia's work, **Corpus of Byzantine Churches In The Holy Land** (1970) is strikingly similar to that of Chiat's dissertation, **A Corpus of Synagogue Art and Architecture in Roman and Byzantine Palestine**, published as the **Handbook of Synagogue Architecture** (1982).

METHODOLOGY: TECHNICAL APPENDICES

Appendix 3A: Forming The Attribute List

To meet the requirements of automated processing, the attributes were divided into a series of assemblages which correspond to artifact classifications common in the field reports, namely coins, architecture, inscriptions, site situation, and art motifs. In our study of possible culture configurations, we concentrate upon the comparison of cases (Q-type) according to morphological attributes. The similarity analysis adopted for the treatment of culture regions is based on matching (boolean) principles rather than frequency analysis⁵⁸ and therefore multiple representations are significant only in that the attribute is present.

The attribute list used in this study was originally constructed exclusively for synagogue sites (Vale 1984), and was then greatly expanded during the process of investigating the site bibliography. In general, the attribute list⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Frequency seriation has been used successfully to order archaeological data, yet criticisms of the technique, and more particularly of the construction of 'battleship curves,' have appeared for over twenty years. Beyond important difficulties of execution and interpretation, McNutt argues that the battleship curve concept is self-contradictory; that a type/collection frequency has descriptive value within a collection but holds no comparative value between collections. He further argues that such seriation of collections may obscure rather than clarify our understanding of ceramic complexes. He suggests that more complex schemes for manipulating type/collection frequencies are therefore also suspect. See McNutt, (1973).

⁵⁹ Where standard typologies of artifacts exist, these have been adopted. Most familiar are those in coins and architecture. This attribute list does not

reflects the reporting language of the sources⁶⁰. Where, morphologically speaking, the same features were differently named, both names were adopted in the attribute label.

The familiar confessionally-diagnostic motifs are buried within the list, rendering them of equal value to other attributes with respect to their impact upon grouping of the sites. When confessional diagnostic features of the synagogue were assigned a neutral label (i.e. the menorah became a tool/lamp; the cross is geometric) the list of morphological attributes in the art repertoires became applicable to both churches and synagogues. Some additions to architectural description were required to account for the elaborate typology of church floor plans but synagogue plans can be fitted easily into the categories typical of the ecclesiastical building.

The form of the attribute list allows for the uneven quality of reporting in the literature. Ambiguous categories representing an 'unspecified other' were not used. Rather, I adopted broad categories within each of the attribute sets

provide references to geographical co-ordinates, whole-site spatial distributions or on-site spatial coordination of artifacts. The description is restricted to attributes found within the precinct. Decoration, etc. contained in separate structures (i.e. annexes) were not encoded. Only Khirbet Marus [067] presented a problem here and I resisted the temptation to include the elaborately decorated annex (named a *bet midrash* by the excavator) with the plainer synagogue.

⁶⁰ Noteworthy is the fact that human figures fall conveniently into a series of thematic categories which are either text related, calendric, or portraiture. On the zodiac see, Sonne, (1953), Kramer (1965) and Hachili, (1981).

which reflect the most general references to the attribute⁶¹. For each site, each category and attribute is assigned a line/column co-ordinate and a descriptive code character to make up the raw data matrix. In this fashion, it is possible to include in the analysis information from even the most general of reports and eliminate redundancies at the same time. The result is a highly condensed raw data matrix in which the site name had a three digit identification number, and each attribute state one of four single digit codes (indicating presence or absence with two additional codes for uncertain cases).

⁶¹ These are shown in the attribute list, reproduced as Technical Appendix 3B, underlined and in bold print. Within these broad categories are described specific attributes, shown with their respective sub-attributes (the latter indented).

Appendix 3B: The Attribute List

Site Inventory: Description and Identity

Site Name

Phase

Date

BasisDate #1

#2

#3

Confessional Type

ID Criterion #1

#2

#3

Map Coordinates

Locate #1

Region #2

Excavations #1

#2

H&R ID Certainty

Chiat Geo-political Code:

References: #1

#2

#3

=====

Alternate Names #1

#2

#3

=====

Notes:

Descriptive Attributes For Cluster Analysis:

- A01 Site #: (000)
- A02
- A03
- A04 **Group 1: Treasuries of Coins** (Dates from Wroth, 1966):
- A05 Antoninus III Caracalla Jan 198- April 8 217
- A06 Antoninus III and Geta 211-212
- A07 Geta, Publius Septimius Sept/Oct 209-26 Feb 212
- A08 Macrinus April 11, 217- June 8, 218
- A09 Antoninus (Marcus Aurelius-Elagabalus) 16 May, 218-
March 11,222.
- A10 Alexander, Marcus Aurelius Severus - March 11, 222-
March 19 235
- A11 Maximinus (Thrax March 19,235-May 238
- A12 Gordanus (I,II) March 238
- A13 Balbinus, Decimus Caelius Balbinus
with Pulus and Balbinus-April-July 238
- A14 Gordanus III, Marcus Antonius - Mid July 238-Feb. 244
- A15 Philippus the Elder, Marcus Julius("Arab")Feb 244-
Sept/Oct 249
- A16 Philippus the Elder, with the Younger 247-249
- A17 Philippus the Younger July 247 - Sept/Oct 249
- A18 Jotapianus, Marcus Fluvius? Rufus? 248 in Syria
- A19 Pacatianus, Tiberias Claudius Marinus Pacatianus
Summer 248
- A20 Uranius Antonius, Lucius Julius Sulpicius...248-254
in Syria
- A21 Decius The Elder, Caius Messius Quintus Traianus-
Oct 248-Nov 251
- A22 Decius the Younger, Quintus Herennius Etruscus...
Spring-May 251.
- A23 Quintus, Caius Valens Hostillanus Messius Apring-Nov 251
- A24 Gallus, Caius Vibius Trebonianus GAllus June 251-
August 253
- A25 Gallus and Quintus for their heir apparent August 251
- A26 Volusianus, Caius Vibius Afinius Gallus....
Nov 251-August 253
- A27 Gallus and Volusianus 251-253
- A28 Aemillanus, Marcus Aemilius Aemilianus May - Oct 253
- A29 Valerianus The Elder, Publius... Sept 253-258 or 259
- A30 Valerianus The Elder and Gallienus 253-259
- A31 Gallienus, Publius Licinius Gallienus Oct 253-March 268
- A32 Saloninus Valerianus in Gaul- Late 259-260

- A33 Postumus, Marcus Cassianus Late 259/260-Mid 268
- A34 Marcianus and Quletus Sept 261-262
- A35 Regallanus, Publius? Cornelius Regallianus in
N. Pannonia,ca. 262
- A36 Claudius II, Marcus Aurelius Claudius-
E March 268-Mid Jan. 270
- A37 Laellanus Ulpius Cornelius Laelianus in Lyon Mid 268
- A38 Marius, Marcus Aurelius Marius, in Cologne/Lyon
Mid-Late 268.
- A39 Victorinus, Marcus... late 268-Late 270
- A40 Domitianus in Lyon. ca. late 270.
- A41 Tetricus the Elder, Late 270 or Early 271-mid 273.
- A42 Quintilus, Marcus Aurelius...Mid Ja-late March 270
- A43 Aurelianus, Lucius Domitius...March 270-Sept 275
- A44 Vabalathus, in the Orient Ca March 271- ca mid 272.
- A45 Interregnum (Severina[widow]) ca Oct. 275
- A46 Tacitus, Marcus Claudius Oct 275-Early May 276
- A47 Florianus, Marcus Annius , May - July 276
- A48 Probus, Marcus Aurelius June 276-August/SEpt 282
- A49 Carus, Marcus Aurelius, August 282-mid 283
- A50 Carus and Carinus-Early mid 283
- A51 Carinus, Marcus Aurelius Early 283-early summer 285
- A52 Carinus and Numerianus (283-284
- A53 Numerianus, Marcus Aurelius Mid 283-Nov 284.
- A54 Julianus, Marcus...in Pannonia Fall 284
- A55 Diocletianus, Caius Valerius 17 Nov 284-1 May 305
- A56 Maximianus I (Herculius) 1 April 285-1May 305
- A57 Diocletianus and Maximianus I 286-305
- A58 Carausius, Marcus Aurelius Early 286-early 293
- A59 Allectus in Britain Early 293-mid 296
- A60 Diocletianus and Constantius/Maximianus I/Constantius I
- A61 Maximianus I & Maximianus II: 293-305
- A62 Constantius I and Maximianus 293-306
- A63 Constianus I, Flavius...Chlorus) March 1, 293-25,
July 305
- A64 Maximianus II, Galeris... (Galerius) March 1, 293
-May 5,311
- A69 Domitianus, Lucius... August 296-March 297
- A70 Severus II, Flavius Valerius May 1, 305-early 307
- A71 Serverus II and Maximinus II 305-307
- A72 Maximinus II (Dala), 1 May 305- summer 313
- A73 Emperors of the 2nd and 3rd Tetarchies 305-307
(ConstantiusII

- A74 Maximianus II, Severus II, Maximinus II
and Constantinus)
- A75 Constantinus, Flavius...The Great July 26, 306
-May 22, 337.
- A76 Maxentius, Marcus...Oci 28-306-Oct 28, 312
- A77 Licinius The Elder, Nov 11, 308- Sept 324
- A78 Alexander in Africa, June 308-June 311
- A79 Valens,Aurelius... ca Oct/Nov 314 (co-regent
with Lucinius)
- A80 Marinianus,Marcus(coregent with Lucinius),
Dalmatius 336-337
- B01 Constantinus ii, Constans and Constantius II 337-340
- B02 Constantinus II, 9 Sept, 337, Spring 340
- B03 Constans, Flavius Julius 9 Sept 337-Early 350
- B04 Constantius II and Constans 340-350
- B05 Constantius II 9 Sept 337-3 Nov 361
- B06 Magnentius, Flavius in the West 18 Jan 350 10 August 350
- B07 Vetrano, in Illyricus March1-25 Dec 350
- B08 Nepotianus in Rome 3-30 June 350.
- B09 Maximianus III in Cologne, August 11-Sept 7, 355
- B10 Julianus, Flavius Claudius the Apostate Feb 360
-June 26, 363
- B11 Jovianus June 27, 363 17 Feb 364
- B12 Valentinianus I Feb 26, 364-17 Nov 375
- B13 Valens 28 March 364- August 9, 378
- B14 Procopius in Thrace and Asian Minor Sept 28, 365
-May 27 366
- B15 Gratianus Aug 24, 367- August 25, 383
- B16 Heathen issues (Isis Cult) 284-375
- B17 Valentinianus II 22 Nov 375-15 May 392
- B18 Theodosius I the Great 19 Jan 379-17 Jan 395
- B19 Gratianus Valentinianus II and Theodosius I,
Jan 19-Feb 24, 379
- B20 Arcadius Jan 19, 383-May 1, 408
- B21 Magnes Maximus in the West Spring 383 - August 28, 388
- B22 Flavius Victor Ca. 387-late 388
- B23 Eugenius in the West August 22, 392-Sept 6, 394
- B24 Honorius, Jan 23, 393-15 August 423
- B25 Theodosius II Jan 10, 402-July 28, 450
- B26 Constantinus II, in the West Mid 407-Summer 411
- B27 Priscus Attalus in Rome Nov. 409-June 410
- B28 Maximus in Spain 409-411
- B29 Constans 410-early 411
- B30 Jovinus in Gaul Summer 411-early 413

- B31 Sebastianus 412-early 413
- B32 Priscus Attalus in Gaul Early 414-early 416
- B33 Constantius III [Patricius] Feb 8-Sept 2, 421
- B34 Johannes, Dec 423-June 425
- B35 Valentinianus III Oct 23-424-March 16,455
- B36 Marcianus Aug 25, 450-26 Jan 457
- B37 Avitus, Maecilius Avitus July 9, 455-Oct 17, 456
- B38 Leo I the Great Feb 7, 456- Jan 18, 474
- B39 Maiorianus, Julius April 1, 457- August 7, 461
- B40 Libius Severus Nov 19, 461-Nov 14, 465
- B41 Anthemius, Procopius Anthemius April 12, 467
-July 11, 472
- B42 Anicius Olybrius, April -Nov 2, 472
- B43 Glycerius, Maryc 3, 473-Spring 474
- B44 Leon II and Zeno Feb 9- early fall 474
- B45 Zeno early fall 474- April 9, 491
- B46 Julius Nepos 19/24 June 474- Aug 28, 475
- B47 Basiliscus Jan 9, 475-late Aug 476
- B48 Romulus Augustus Oct 31, 475-Sept 476
- B49 Anastasius I April 11, 491-July 1, 517.
- B50 Anastasius II April 11, 491-July 1, 518
- B51 Justinus I, July 1, 518- August 1,527
- B52 Justinus I and Justinus II, 1 April-1 August 527
- B53 Justinianus I, 1 August 527 - 14 November 565
- B54 Justinus II
- B55 Tiberius II Constantinus
- B56 Caesar (under Justin II) Dec. 574-Sept 578
- B57 Augustus Tiberius (26 Sept 578-13 August 582.
- B58 Mauricius Tiberius, 13 August 582-22 Nov 602
- B59 Phocas, 23 Nov 602 - 4 October 610; wife Leontia
- B60 Heraclius and Family: 610-641 (Heraclius, Heraclius
Constantinus, Heraclonas, Martina)
- B61 Constans II Sept 641 - Sept (?) 668: (Constantinus IV
Pogonatus, Heraclius and Tiberius)
- B62 Roman Imperial Coins and Imitations: City of Mint**
- B63 Constantinople
- B64 Thessalonica
- B65 Nicomedia
- B66 Cyzicus
- B67 Antioch
- B68 Alexandria
- B69 Carthage
- B70 Rome

B71 Ravenna
 B72 Sicily
 B73 Italy (generally)
 B74 imitation
 B75 unknown

B76 Roman provincial coins: City of Origin: Tyre

B77 Tiberias
 B78 Caesarea
 B79 Paneas
 B80 Caesarea/Lebanon
 C01 Tripoli
 C02 Bostra
 C03 Petra
 C04 Acco
 C05 Philadelphia
 C06 Kizicus/Cyzicus

OF ATTRIBUTES IN GROUP 1 = 163

=====

Group 2: Architectural Assets

A01 Site #
 A02 Site #
 A03 Site #
 A04 **Materials**
 A05 granite
 A06 bronze
 A07 rubble/kurkar
 A08 headers and stretchers
 A09 fieldstone/untrimmed limestone
 A10 marble
 A11 ashlar
 A12 basalt
 A13 mud/"sun-dried brick"
 A14 sandstone
 A15 "stone"- otherwise not defined
 A16 **Bases**
 A17 "footing stones"
 A18 octagonal
 A19 square
 A20 round
 A21 stylobate
 A22 attic
 A23 pedestals

- A24 heart-shaped
- A25 double-pilastered-corner base
- A26 Capitals
- A27 Corinthian
- A28 Ionic
- A29 Doric
- A30 debased Corinthian
- A31 debased Ionic
- A32 debased Doric
- A33 composite
- A34 Nabatean
- A35 lotus
- A36 "crown-shaped"
- A37 "circular"
- A38 square or bracketted capital
- A39 basket capital
- A40 Columns/Shfts
- A41 fluted
- A42 unfluted
- A43 Doric
- A44 "Tuscan"
- A45 Ionic
- A46 impost block
- A47 engaged/Inset
- A48 half pedestals
- A49 heart-shaped (corner) pillars
- A50 L-shaped (corner) pillars
- A51 square/rectangular pillars/pilasters
- A52 pilasters/monolithic pillars/piers
- A53 **Column Arrangements**
- A54 no interior colonnades
- A55 circular colonnade
- A56 linear colonnade:
- A57 nistyle (1 column in row) symmetrical
- A58 distyle (2 columns in row symmetrical)
- A59 ristyle (3 columns in row symmetrical)
- A60 quatrastyle (4 columns in row, symmetrical)
- A61 quintastyle (5 columns in row, symmetrical)
- A62 hexastyle (6 columns in row, symmetrical)
- A63 septastyle (7 columns in row, symmetrical)
- A64 octostyle (8 columns in row, symmetrical)
- A65 peristyle (9 or more columns, colonnade)
- A66 asymmetrical
- A67 transverse row

A68 Lintels and DoorjambsA69 Architrave/pediment

A70 arch (in walls)

A71 flat/block lintel

A72 aedicula

A73 Syrian arch (flat lintel with semi-circular relieving arch)

A74 decorated /carved/inscribed door posts/lintels

A75 Roofing

A76 dome

A77 arcades (supporting roof)

A78 tile (ceramic/terracotta)

A79 vault

A80 clerestory

B01 wooden/timber beams

B02 stone slabs

B03 lead

B04 Flooring

B05 cement

B06 plaster

B07 mosaic/tesserae

B08 flagstone

B09 pounded limestone

B10 pounded earth

B11 marble slabs

B12 Wall Decoration

B13 pebble/stone inlays

B14 sherd/broken ceramic inlay

B15 glass tesserae

B16 marble facings

B17 limestone facings

B18 plaster

B19 mosaic

B20 painted

B21 FurnishingsB22 *bema*/platform/lecturn/*Schola Cantorum*/podiumB23 chancel screen/*templon*/protective grill

B24 stair rail/gate

B25 interior acroteria/cupboard/closet/ark

B26 *cathedra*/seat of Moses/episcopal throne/Bishop's throneB27 benches/*synthronos*

B28 ambo-round/square [n.b. separated from bema]

B29 solea [raised path from ambo to bema]

B30 altar/mensa/table

- B31 niche
- B32 cistern/well/pool/fountain/laver/*kiyor*/baptistry
 phiale/cantharus/stoup/baptismal font
- B33 burial/mausoleum/tombstone/reliquary/sarcophagus/
- B34 crypt/cave/grotto
- B35 Plan
- B36 square plan/basilica
- B37 rectangular/longitudinal hall/basilica
- B38 rectangular/transverse chancel or chapel/basilica
- B39 lateral plan/broadhouse
- B40 rotunda/central plan/circular
- B41 polygon/central plan
- B42 octagon/central plan
- B43 trapezoidal plan
- B44 cruciform-domed plan
- B45 cruciform in square
- B46 transept/continuous
- B47 transept/cross
- B48 transept/dwarf
- B49 transept/apsidal
- B50 transept/rectangular
- B51 titulus/domus ecclesiae/irregular
- B52 Apse/Conch
- B53 internal/inscribed
- B54 semi-circular
- B55 polygonal
- B56 rectangular/square
- B57 external
- B58 internal shape
- B59 semi-circular
- B60 polygonal
- B61 rectangular/square
- B62 external shape
- B63 semi-circular
- B64 polygonal
- B65 rectangular
- B66 horseshoe shaped laterals
- B67 internal laterals
- B68 trefoil/triconch
- B69 quatrefoil/tetraconch
- B70 **Architectural Features**
- B71 constructed chamber/storeroom/geniza/confession/
 sacristy/chapel/pastophoria-diaconicon,prothesis
- B72 access route not reported/evident

- B73 access to aisles
- B74 access to chancel/nave
- B75 precinct/*temenos*/court/atrium/forecourt
- B76 *propylaeum*/entrance way/narthex
- B77 ambulatory/portico/peristyle
- B78 external structures: *bet midrash/oratorium/*
monastery/dwelling/*presbytery*
- B79 gallery/balcony
- B80 terrace/podium/hewn or artificially constructed
platform
- C01 **Primary entrance/facade**
- C02 north
- C03 south
- C04 east
- C05 west
- C06 Entrance type
- C07 single
- C08 double
- C09 triple
- C10 Secondary entrances
- C11 north
- C12 south
- C13 east
- C14 west
- C15 Entrance type
- C16 single
- C17 double
- C18 triple

NUMBER OF ATTRIBUTES FOR GROUP 2 = 175

Group 3: Inscriptions

- A01
- A02
- A03
 - Names:
 - Inscribed Dates:
- A04 month/year of...
- A05 when the world was created until...
- A06 **Inscriptions**
- A07 Latin
- A08 Kufic
- A09 Syriac
- A10 Aramaic
- A11 Hebrew
- A12 Greek
- A13 Greek/Kufic
- A14 Aramaic/Hebrew
- A15 Hebrew/Greek
- A16 Aramaic/Greek
- A17 Aramaic/Hebrew/Greek
- A18 Samaritan
- A19 **Text Related References**
- A20 wisdom maxims (or their acronyms)
- A21 *halakhic* regulations
- A22 P.T.seventh year regulations/tithed foods,
territories, towns - *Y. Demei* 22d/*Y. Schevi*
36c,23-31/*Sifre* Deut 51
- A23 narrative references - Gen 22/*Akedah*
- A24 priestly courses (1 Chr. 25:7-10)
- A25 poetic quotations (Ps. 23:1;42:1[LXX]; 45:5-6;
90:5; 93:5;117:20; Ex 15:18 (Samaritan))
- A26 astrological names- zodiac: Heb:(*Taleh*=Aries/Ram;
Shor=Taurus/Bull; *Teomim*=Gemini/Twins;
Sartan=Cancer/ Crab; *Aryeh*=Leo/Lion;
Betulah=Virgo/Virgin; *Meoznayim*-Libra/Scales;
Aqrab=Scorpio/scorpion;*Kashat*=Sagittarius/
archer; *Gedi*=Capricorn/goat; *Deli*=Aquarius/
water bearer; *Dagin*=Pisces/fishes)
- A27 season names- Heb: (*Nisan*=spring;*Tammuz*=Summer;
Tishri=Fall; *Tebeth*=Winter)
- A28 biblical names/genealogical references (1 Chr. 1:1-4)
- A29 **Subjects/Titles of Donors/Builders/Initiator or Sponsor**
- A30 consul
- A31 levite

- A32 teacher/scholar
- A33 *hazzan*
- A34 *parnas*
- A35 scribe
- A36 wood merchants
- A37 innkeeper
- A38 architect/artist/craftsman
- A39 priest/*cohen*
- A40 pupils/students
- A41 rabbi/Rab/relative of rabbi
- A42 patriarch
- A43 (whole) congregation
- A44 *kyros/kyras*
- A45 the forgiver
- A46 *comes*
- A47 commander
- A48 *archisynagogos*
- A49 archbishop
- A50 bishop
- A51 deacon
- A52 archdeacon
- A53 subdeacon
- A54 monk/anchorite=*monazonton*/hermit
- A55 reader/*Anagnostes*
- A56 *presbyter*
- A57 unspecified "members of the clergy"
- A58 administrator/official
- A59 "office of..."/time of/rule of..."
- A60 "saint"
- A61 "most holy (person)"
- A62 "most pious (person)"
- A63 unspecified
- A64 untitled
- A65 genealogical or familial reference/
children/son/daughter/brother
- A66 founders
- A67 abbot (father of monastery)
- A68 "your servant"
- A69 *chorepiscopus*
- A70 *episcopus*
- A71 Objects/Recipient/beneficiary/dedicantee
- A72 Martyrs of God
- A73 inhabitants of the town/"wakeful"
- A74 (holy) community/congregation

- A75 whole/entire congregation/all the members
- A76 "saint"/"saints"/*mará/mar*
- A77 the people
- A78 Israel
- A79 God/Lord ('*adonai*)
- A80 Christ Pantocrator/Jesus/Christ/Son of God
- B01 *Theotokos*/Virgin/Mary
- B02 (in memory of) donor
- B03 (in memory of) donor's "house" = donor's family
- B04 (in memory of) unspecified donor
- B05 "anyone who gave..."/"those who donated"
- B06 donor's work
- B07 this [most] Holy Place
- B08 (the Lord of the) Gate of Heaven
- B09 the synagogue
- B10 **Forms of Benedictions/Appeals/Acronyms/Epithets**
- B11 *Nomina Sacra*
- B12 ΙΧΘΥΣ "fish"
- B13 ΑΩ (Alpha/Omega)/Α
- B14 Ι(εσους) Χ(ριστος)
- B15 ΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ/ *Ave Maria*
- B16 (Holy Trinity)""('Yhwh)
- B17 *photisteriou* "place of light" = baptistry
- B18 Good Luck
- B19 King of The Universe (*Mlk h'alm...*)
- B20 The Lord is the shepherd of (the donor)
- B21 The Holy Angel, Michael
- B22 in the name of the Merciful
- B23 in the name of (donor)
- B24 remembered for good (*zkr ltv*)
- B25 Blessed be/for blessing (*!brkh*)
- B26 for forgiveness
- B27 a share with the righteous
- B28 for the glory of Heaven/God
- B29 (as an offering) for salvation/deliverance
- B30 help/Lordá Help/God Help/*Kyrie Bonei*
- B31 for protection/provision
- B32 for a vow (*K'oubas*)
- B33 dedicated to the Lord
- B34 in remembrance
- B35 in gratitude (for intercession)
- B36 thanking (dedicantee) *Euchariston*
- B37 in memory
- B38 in honor of [the building]

- B39 "the house" [=building]
- B40 as sign of respect
- B41 peace/Let there be peace/(*Shlm*)
- B42 Selah (*slh*)
- B43 Amen (*amn*)
- B44 curse/admonition/warning
- B45 **Location of Inscription in Bldg**
- B46 floor of nave
- B47 floor of narthex
- B48 floor of atrium/court/annex
- B49 floor of side chambers/pastopheria/presbyteria
- B50 floor of aisle/corridor
- B51 border of mosaic
- B52 floor near altar/bema/laver/cathedra
- B53 pillar/column
- B54 lintel/doorpost
- B55 capital
- B56 internal arch/arcade
- B57 window
- B58 not *in situ*
- B59 **Object or Sum Built or Donated/Deed Performed**
- B60 "in kind" (i.e. wheat, etc.)
- B61 "valuable objects"
- B62 "their share"
- B63 mosaic
- B64 money: tremissis
- B65 denarii
- B66 scruples
- B67 silver, gold
- B68 "the price of..." /private and public funds
- B69 clothing
- B70 chapel/structure ("the house"/*phosisterion*/
rbv'/*eukterion*)
- B71 screen
- B72 lintel
- B73 plaster for wall
- B74 stoa/colonnade/column (*ha-aron*)
- B75 hall of building [of this (holy) place]
- B76 great "step"

NUMBER OF ATTRIBUTES FOR GROUP 3 = 153

Group 4: Site Situation

Orientation: Long Axis of Bldg or if square or circular, the axis lying between door and bema/apse)

A01

A02

A03

A04 **Orientation**

A05 N/S

A06 E/W

A07 SW/NE

A08 SE/NW

A09 ENE/WSW

A10 WNW/ESE

A11 SSW/NNE

A12 SSE/MMW

A13 **Civic Quarter**

A14 outside wall

A15 domestic

A16 industrial

A17 commercial

A18 administrative

A19 defensive

A20 city centre/square

A21 **Topographic Situation**

A22 foot of slope

A23 mountain top/top of tell

A24 valley

A25 located on slope/terrace

A26 sea/lake coast

A27 near spring/stream/oasis

A28 river plain

NUMBER OF ATTRIBUTES FOR GROUP 4 = 25

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Group 5: Art Motif Repertoire

A01

A02

A03

A04 **Geometric** (These categories were adapted from Avi-Yonah (1981) The numbers, following, are cross-references to Blanchard (1973)

A05 rectilinear

A06 cornices/cyma/volutes/ovolo

A07 parallel lines (137-143,146)

A08 dentil and parallel lines (144,145,147)

A09 chevron/crowstep (151-153)

A10 triangular dentil

A11 stretcher-header blocks

A12 frets (240-246,484-495)

A13 swastika fret (38)

A14 bent swastika fret (39, 250-271)

A15 key-hole linked fret (267-270)

A16 curvilinear

A17 linear wavelets/wave crest/
Vitruvian scroll (190,191,192)

A18 egg and dart (183)

A19 spindle/roll and circle (300)

A20 guilloche

A21 torus/single strand guilloche (194,203)

A22 three strand guilloche/plait (199)

A23 two strand guilloche/plait (197)

A24 tongue and circle guilloche (102)

A25 circles

A26 single circle (12)

A27 circle within circle (386)

A28 crossed circle

A29 box within circle (554)

A30 ovoid/ellipse (11)

A31 spoked wheel/dial

A32 whorl

A33 whorl with plain core (556-60)

A34 intertwined medallion

A35 6-pointed convex star with circle core

A36 crosses

A37 Greek/plain cross

A38 Latin cross

A39 x crosslet

A40 maltese cross

- A41 trefoil/cruciform in furnishings
- A42 chi-rho cross
- A43 lozenges/diamonds
- A44 horizontal diamond
- A45 horizontal diamond with inner circle
- A46 fleuron grid (274,283)
- A47 interlaced weave knot in lozenge
outline (58, 61,63)
- A48 linked horizontal lozenge
- A49 multi-cube diamond
- A50 indented square
- A51 multi-block lozenge
- A52 rectilinear field checks/square
- A53 alternate checkerboard
- A54 linear checkerboard
(placed corner to corner)
- A55 multi-colour checkerboard
- A56 solid checkerboard
- A57 double-border checkerboard
- A58 rectilinear field-angles
- A59 star-burst triangles (43,367-369,
373-376,381-382)
- A60 dentilated blocks (106)
- A61 interlaced X underlying framed square,
interlaced octagon (350)
- A62 inter-linked polygon
- A63 five-pointed star (41)
- A64 six-pointed star (42)
- A65 ornamental field
- A66 interlaced circle with square (187,483)
- A67 single ribbon/line (118,119)
- A68 tabbed x with square core (352)
- A69 cable/folded knot "duplex sign" (54,55)
- A70 "hercules" (endless) knot 52,53,603,604)
- A71 bow/"double granny" knot (111-113)
- A72 curvilinear field
- A73 egg and dart (183)
- A74 fishscale/semi circles (448)
- A75 circles interlaced with continuous pattern (205-207,209, 338-343)
- A76 semi-circle, square x
- A77 dentilated field
- A78 stylized leaflets in symmetrical
arrangements (272-284)
- A79 triple intertwined figure of eight

A80 Flora**B01 Vegetable****B02 Vine Scroll/Rinceau**

B03 trellis in acanthus cup

B04 trellis in amphora

B05 meander in amphora

B06 tendril and vine meander, not rooted

B07 garland

B08 Tree

B09 olive/fig (105)

B10 date-palm tree

B11 cypress tree (*Cypressus sempervirens*,
v. *pyramidalis*)

B12 palm branch/lulav

B13 sheaf

B14 stalk/sprig

B15 papyrus

B16 Fruit

B17 citron/ethrog/lemon

B18 figs

B19 berry cluster

B20 pomegranate

B21 Leaf

B22 olive leaves

B23 broad leaves

B24 "puvinated frieze"

B25 acanthus

B26 grape leaves

B27 oak leaves

B28 trefoil (three lobed ornament in tracery)

B29 Floral

B30 lotus

B31 rosette (complex varied floral forms)

B32 petalled blossom

B33 broad petalled (112-115)

B34 narrow petalled (109-111, 555)

B35 petal and leaf

B36 lily (285,286-289)

B37 Frame/Frame/Circle Surround/tabula ensata

B38 wreath /leafed crown

B39 chevron

B40 vegetable

B41 plain/stylized mantle

B42 floral

- B43 medallion/tabula ensata
- B44 octagon
- B45 rectangle
- B46 circle
- B47 square
- B48 ovoid
- B49 rhomboid
- B50 Internal motif
- B51 tool
- B52 architecture/facade
- B53 geometric
- B54 vegetable
- B55 floral
- B56 marine
- B57 amphibious
- B58 reptile
- B59 composite/mythic
- B60 fowl
- B61 animal
- B62 human
- B63 inscription
- B64 landscape
- B65 **Fowl**
- B66 hen/quail/dove/partridge
- B67 chick
- B68 cock/rooster
- B69 goose/cormorant/duck
- B70 peacock
- B71 heron/flamingo
- B72 eagle/bird of prey
- B73 swan
- B74 **Animal**
- B75 horse/donkey
- B76 antelope/gazelle/ibex/deer
- B77 bucranium/bullock/bovine
- B78 goat/ram/sheep/lamb
- B79 large cat/lion/lionness/leopard
- B80 undifferentiated
- C01 rodent/rabbit/hare/badger
- C02 elephant
- C03 dog/wolf/jackal/fox
- C04 boar/pig
- C05 bear

- C06 giraffe
- C07 zebra
- C08 rhinoceros
- C09 **Insects/Reptiles**
- C10 scorpion (zodiac)
- C11 snake
- C12 "creeping things"
- C13 **Amphibious Species**
- C14 crocodile
- C15 crustacean
- C16 turtle
- C17 mollusk shells/conch/scallop
- C18 **Marine Species**
- C19 fish
- C20 dolphin
- C21 **Composite/Mythic**
- C22 centaur
- C23 griffin
- C24 hybrid* (human-fowl(Sirens), Ichthycentaur (horse/fish)
- C25 deities and semi deities* (Medusa, Nile)
- C26 **Human Figures: Compositions and Themes**
- C27 Text Related
- C28 Daniel in Lion's Den
- C29 Akedah (Gen 22)
- C30 Abraham
- C31 Noah and flood story
- C32 Heroic figures/episodes - Odysseus*/David
- C33 Jonah and the Whale
- C34 Calendric
- C35 solar/constellations/zodiac
- C36 sun rays/solar bust/Helios and chariot
- C37 lunar crescent/moon bust
- C38 harvest/Dionysus/vintage
- C39 seasons/months
- C40 zodiac wheel
- C41 Portrait
- C42 hero/warrior/equestrian/archer
- C43 hunter/prey/with weapons
- C44 enthroned figure
- C45 musician/piper
- C46 orator/robed "saint"
- C47 winged figure/genii
- C48 naked (striding/reclining) figure

C49 Landscape/Architecture

- C50 city/fortress/gateway/towers
- C51 pavillion
- C52 mountain
- C53 rounded hills
- C54 tower
- C55 facade
- C56 pilastered facade
- C57 columns only
- C58 columns/base
- C59 columns/capital
- C60 columns/capital/base
- C61 foundation/Platform
- C62 stepped platform
- C63 acroteria/Gable ornaments
- C64 birds
- C65 geometric
- C66 tool
- C67 marine (shell)
- C68 Defaced images (distinguish environmental damage from carefully removed, deliberate damage. Note if defacement can be determined to belong to a period later than building.)

C69 Tools

- C70 loaves
- C71 horn/shofar
- C72 flute
- C73 harp
- C74 basket/pail
- C75 bowl
- C76 knife/sickle
- C77 amphora/vase/jugs
- C78 chalice/drinking cup/goblet
- C79 weighing scales
- C80 torch
- D01 mattock/hoe
- D02 sickle
- D03 quadriga/chariot
- D04 boat/oars/net⁶²

⁶² Of this sample, these rare attributes occur only in the rooms associated with the synagogue stratum of the House of Leontis at Beth She'an, and at Tabgha (#145).

- D05 shield/helmet
- D06 spear/dagger/whip
- D07 bow/arrow
- D08 halo/crown/
- D09 scroll/roll
- D10 incense shovel
- D11 hanging lamps
- D12 birdcage
- D13 fan
- D14 lampstand/*menorah*/candelabra
- D15 single
- D16 pair
- D17 multiple
- D18 top profile:
- D19 straight
- D20 sloped outward
- D21 number of branches:
- D22 3 branches
- D23 5 branches
- D24 7 branches
- D25 8 branches
- D26 9 branches
- D27 11 branches
- D28 branch decoration
- D29 floral/"*Knopf* & flowers"
- D30 Plain
- D31 Bulbous
- D32 shape
- D33 curved
- D34 straight
- D35 trunk decoration:
- D36 squares and circles
- D37 plain
- D38 bulbous
- D39 leafed stalk
- D40 guilloche
- D41 base:
- D42 solid
- D43 lion claw
- D44 two footed base
- D45 three footed base
- D46 bottom of stem/no base
- D47 stepped block base

D48 Lamps/flames:

D49 Dishes on bar

D50 bar over menorah

D51 flames (teardrop shape)

D52 lamp hanging from menorah branch

D53 Door/Cupboard/Chest/Box (*tyv'h*)

D54 Drapes Closed

D55 Drapes Open

D56 Doors

D57 Geometric (triangle/square)

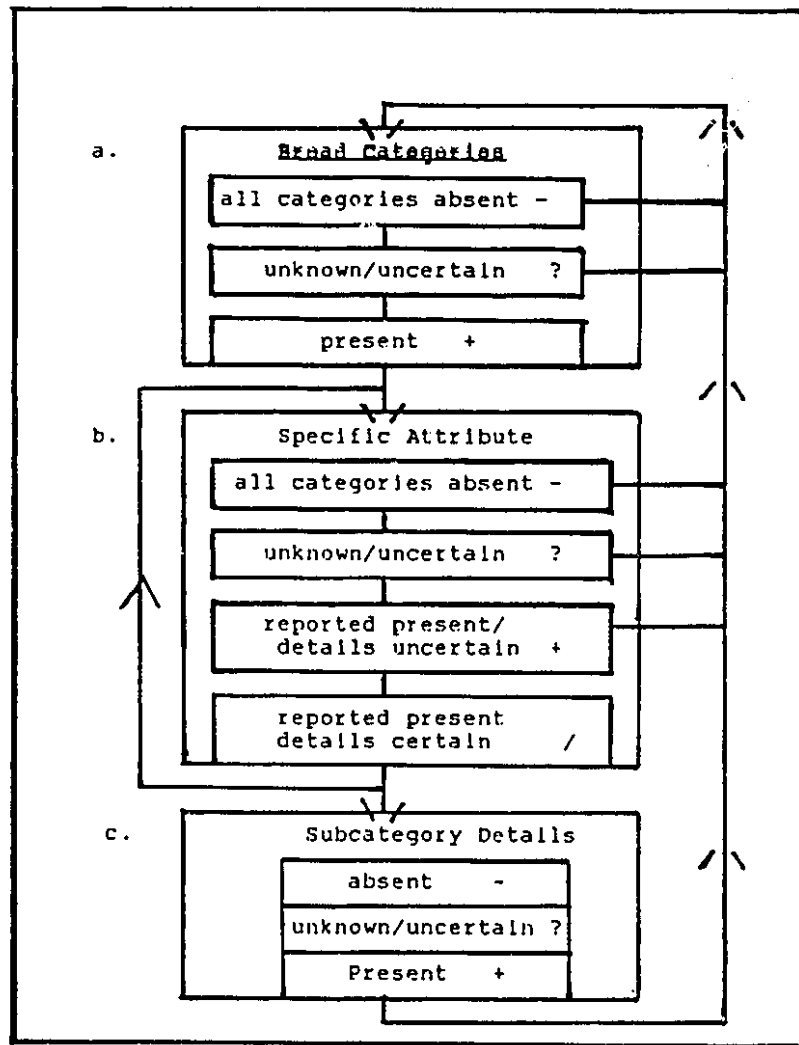
D59 wheels

D60 feet NUMBER OF ATTRIBUTES FOR GROUP 5 = 297

Appendix 3C: The Encoding Process

Attributes states, in the raw data matrix, were present (+), absent (-), not applicable (/) or unknown/uncertain (?). The flowchart below details the decision-making procedure used to encode attribute states. This complexity of decision-making was made necessary by the uneven quality of reporting (ranging from the general to the specific), which tends to communicate only that which is present. To include all possible references to a site without producing distorting redundancy, the coding always assumed an attribute's absence where the actual state was unknown. Unknowns are therefore permitted at all levels in the encoding procedure. The N/A character (/) rules out from the similarity calculation those general attribute headings which become redundant when further details are available.

Site Description: From Words and Sentences to Code Strings



The tables below illustrate the transformation of raw data to a similarity matrix using a simplified and hypothetical example of three sites. In this case, when there are more than eighty columns in an attribute set, the code characters are "wrapped around" to the next line of the coding form, according to the line designations (A/B) in the attribute list. Thus in the following chart, truncated code strings identified as sites 001, 002 and 003 are described in a wrapped-around raw data matrix. In the first site (001) the source report is sufficiently detailed that the headings are not-applicable (/----+,etc). Several specific attributes within the category are indicated as present, while others are absent. For site 003, there is insufficient information to go beyond three of the headings (?///, etc.) while specific information is provided for the latter (the sequence /+--, etc.).

Site Description: Reading Coded Strings

Attributes (Columns)

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
001	-	-	/	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	
-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
002	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
003	+	-	?	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	?	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	?	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	

The coding replicates in condensed form the data gathered on the inventory record sheets, a copy of which is reproduced in Method Appendix 3B.

Vague reporting on multi-phase sites presented a problem here in that it was not always clear as to which specific phase an attribute belonged, nor were all phases comprehensively described. In some cases, well-known attributes could sometimes be used as an identifier (e.g. an elaborate mosaic floor). Generally, such attributes were assumed to apply to only one phase unless the reports specifically indicated otherwise.

Appendix 3D: Producing the Coefficient

In the program SIMPLE⁶³, a boolean version of the Similarity Matching Coefficient is written in Standard Pascal. The algorithm was developed by Sokal and Sneath (1963:133, also 1973, Hodson Sneath and Doran, 1966) and has been used experimentally for archaeological purposes (Doran and Hodson 1975:140). Our version of the algorithm (Program SIMPLE), reads the raw data matrix, proceeding from one attribute cell to the next, and from one pair of taxonomic units to the next until all potential comparisons between pairs of sites are satisfied. The following diagram illustrates the procedure:

Reading The Coding Form

S		Attribute Columns			
		a	b	c	d
i					
t	001	+	-	+	-
e	002	+	+	-	-

For each pair of cases, each attribute cell is compared (001a-002a). The computer program compares positive and negative matches, and counts them to be equal where an attribute is, for a pair of sites, mutually absent or mutually present. Where a match, whether positive and negative, is found, the program

⁶³See Method: Technical Appendix 3E below. Program SIMPLE was developed by Anne Barkman, Programmer, Department of Computer Services, Concordia University, in consultation with myself and Don Sedgewick of the Department of Fine Arts (Archaeology) Concordia University.

counts a score of one into the calculation. It proceeds to the next cell of the same pair of sites and repeats the same procedure to the last column (001b = 002b; 001c = 002c; 001d = 002d, etc.) and then proceeds to the next pair. The comparisons are repeated for each pair in the sample (001 = 003, 001 = 004...002 = 003, etc.). The following table indicates the matches obtained from the previous example.

Calculating the Similarity Coefficient

			Site 001
			+ -
Site 002	+	a	b
	-	c	d

Thus a and d are a match to be counted into the formula⁶⁴, while b and c are mismatches. If the attribute had been unknown or not-applicable (/ or ?), no addition is made to either numerator or denominator of the similarity calculation. The comparison made invalid by an unknown or not-applicable state has a null effect on the final coefficient. The resulting similarity measure is always

⁶⁴. Our data is qualitative and is therefore appropriate for the Simple Matching Coefficient and UPGMA (Sokal and Sneath, 1973:25-253, Doran and Hodson, 1975:140-141).

0 and 1. The output of this program is a coefficient matrix corresponding in size to the square of the number of sites in our sample.

Appendix 3E: Program SIMPLE

The program computes a similarity matching coefficient matrix from a raw data matrix of qualitative information where each row is a separate case, and each column of each row contains one of four characters (+ - / ?) corresponding to attribute states (present, absent, not applicable, unknown or uncertain). It can collect data from permanent storage files as it is prompted by the user.

Program: SIMPLE

Language: Pascal

Running Instructions (Cyber 835) (N.B.: abort is %2)

/fetch,simple

/begin,simple,simple

 Prompts: input file name

 output file name

 number of cases

 number of attributes

```

.PROC,SIMPLE*,
FILEIN 'ENTER NAME OF INPUT FILE' = (*S7/AD),
SIMATCH 'ENTER NAME OF OUTPUT FILE' = (#S7/AD),
CASES 'ENTER NUMBER OF CASES' = (*S3/D),
ATTRIBUTES 'ENTER THE NUMBER OF ATTRIBUTES' = (*S3/D)
REWIND,*
FETCH,FILEIN.
PASCAL,SIMPLEX,LIST
SETTL,*
SETASL,*
SETJSL,*
LGO.
REPLACE,SIMATCH
NOTE.+ ALL DONE+
REVERT.
.DATA,SIMPLEX.
PROGRAM SIMPLE (FILEIN,OUTPUT,SIMATCH);
(*PROGRAM TO COMPUTE A SIMILARITY MATCHING COEFFICIENT
MATRIX (SIMATCH) FROM A FILE OF QUALITATIVE AND
QUANTITATIVE INFORMATION IN MATRIX FORM, WHERE EACH ROW IS
A SEPARATE CASE, AND EACH COLUMN OF EACH ROW CONTAINS
CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES.

WRITTEN BY ANNE BARKMAN FOR RUTH VALE FOLLOWING DON
SEDGWICK NOVEMBER, 1985, REVISED JUNE, 1988*)
CONST
(*MATRIX DIMENSIONS ARE ENTERED INTERACTIVELY AT THE
PROCEDURE LEVEL*)
ROWLENGTH = ATTRIBUTES; (*NUMBER OF COLUNS*)
COLLENGTH = CASES;      (*NUMBER OF ITEMS*)

VAR
FILEIN,SIMATCH:TEXT;
DATAIN: ARRAY [1..COLLENGTH, 1..ROWLENGTH] OF CHAR;
SMMATRIX: ARRAY [1..COLLENGTH, 1..COLLENGTH] OF REAL;
I,J: INTEGER;
TIMES, SHORT: INTEGER;
MAX:REAL;
R1,R2,COL: INTEGER;
RINGTOTAL, SBOT,SMTOP,SMBOT: INTEGER;
CLUSTERCO, SMRATIO: REAL;
COLPAIRS,MDISS,GDISS,UKINDEX: REAL;

```

```

UKPAIRS,INVALIDS,INVALIDG: INTEGER;
(*-----*)
PROCEDURE READIT; (*READ INPUT - ATTRIBUTE MATRIX*)
VAR I,J,ROW,LENGTH: INTEGER;
BEGIN
  TIMES := (ATTRIBUTES +3) DIV 80;
  IF TIMES = 0
    THEN SHORT := ATTRIBUTES
    ELSE SHORT := )ATTRIBUTES + 3) - (TIMES * 80);
  FOR ROW := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO BEGIN
    FOR J := 1 TO 3 DO READ(FILEIN, DATAIN[ROW,J]);
      (SKIP OVER 3-CHAR ID*)
    COL := 1;
    FOR I := 1 TO TIMES TO BEGIN
      IF COL = 1 THEN LENGTH := 77 ELSE LENGTH := 80;
      FOR J :=1 TO LENGTH DO BEGIN
        READ(FILEIN,DATAIN[ROW,COL]);
        COL := COL+1
      END; (* OF 1 INPUT ROW *)
      READLN(FILEIN);
    END; (* OF FULL INPUT ROWS *)
    FOR J := 1 TO SHORT DO BEGIN
      READ (FILEIN, DATAIN[ROW,COL]);
      COL := COL+1
    END; (* OF SHORT INPUT ROW*)
    READLN (FILEIN);
  END (* OF ONE INPUT MATRIX ENTRY*)
END; (* OF PROCEDURE *)
(*-----*)
PROCEDURE COMPARE (QA,QB: INTEGER);
  (* FOR QUALITATIVE ITEMS*)
  (*COMPARES PAIRS IN ROWS R1 AND R2 FROM COLUMN QA TO QB *)
  VAR Q: INTEGER
  BEGIN
    FOR Q := QA TO QB DO BEGIN
      IF ((DATAIN[R1,Q] <> '/') AND (DATAIN[R2,Q] <> '/')
        AND (DATAIN[R1,Q] <> '?') AND (DATAIN[R2,Q] <> '?'))
        THEN BEGIN
          SMBOT := SMBOT+1
          IF DATAIN[R1,Q] = DATAIN[R2,Q] THEN SMTOP := SMTOP +1
          END
        ELSE BEGIN
          INVALIDS := INVALIDS +1;
          IF ((DATAIN[R1,Q] = '?') OR (DATAIN[R2,Q] = '?'))

```

```

        THEN UKPAIRS := UKPAIRS + 1
    END;
END
END;
(*-----MAIN-----*)
BEGIN
    RESET (FILEIN);
    REWRITE (SIMATCH);
    READIT:
    INVALIDS:= 0;
    UKPAIRS := 0;
    SBOT:= ATTRIBUTES;
    FOR R1 := 1 TO COLLENGTH-1 DO
        FOR R2 := R1+1 TO COLLENGTH DO BEGIN
            SMTOP:=0;
            SMBOT:=0;
            COMPARE ( 1,ATTRIBUTES ) ;
            IF SMBOT <> 0 THEN SMRATIO :=
                SMTOP/SMBOT ELSE SMRATIO := 0
            SMMATRIX [R1,R2] := SMRATIO ;
            SMMATRIX [R2,R1] := SMRATIO;
        END;
    FOR R1 := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO BEGIN
        (*DIAGONAL OF ALL MATRICES*)
        SMMATRIX[R1,R1] :=1;
    END;
    FOR R1 := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO BEGIN (* WRITE THEM *)
        FOR R2 := Q TO COLLENGTH DO BEGIN
            WRITE (SIMATCH, SMMATRIX[R1,R2]:5:3, ' ');
        END;
        WRITELN (SIMATCH);
    END;

    (*COMPUTE DISSIMILARITY INDICES*)
    COLPAIRS := COLLENGTH*(COLLENGTH-1)/2;
        (*POSSIBLE NUMBER OF PAIRS/COL*)
    MDISS := INVALIDS / (SBOT * COLPAIRS);
    UKINDEX := UKPAIRS/(SBOT * COLPAIRS);
    WRITELN ('DIFFERENTIATION COEFFICIENT FOR SIMILARITY
        MATCHING=', MDISS:5:3);
    WRITELN ('UNKNOWN INDEX=',UKINDEX:5:3);
    (*RING ALL OCCURRENCES OF 2 HIGHEST VALUE
        IN EACH MATRIX COLUMN*)
    FOR R1 := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO SMMATRIX[R1,R1] := -5;

```

```

      (*DISQUALIFY DIAGONALS*)
FOR COL := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO
  FOR I := 1 TO 2 DO BEGIN (*TWO HIGHEST VALUES*)
    MAX := -1;
    FOR R1 := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO (*FIND HIGHEST VALUES*)
      IF SMMATRIX[R1,COL] > MAX
        THEN MAX := SMMATRIX[R1,COL];
    FOR R1 := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO
      (*RING ALL OCCURRENCES OF HIGHEST*)
      IF SMMATRIX[R1,COL] = MAX
        THEN SMMATRIX [R1,COL] :=-1
    END
  (*COMPUTE CLUSTER COEFFICIENT*)
  RINGTOTAL := 0;
  FOR R1 := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO
    FOR COL := 1 TO COLLENGTH DO
      IF SMMATRIX[R1,COL] = -1 THEN RINGTOTAL := RINGTOTAL +1;
  RINGTOTAL := RINGTOTAL - 2*COLLENGTH;
    (*SUBTRACT 2 FROM EACH ROW TOTAL *)
  CLUSTERCO := RINGTOTAL/(2*RINGTOTAL - 3);
  WRITELN ('CLUSTER COEFFICIENT = ',CLUSTERCO:5:3)
END.

```

Appendix 3F Testing Significance in the Data Matrices

Because the comparative algorithm uses boolean mathematics to compare site pairs rather than attributes or frequencies, representativeness of the sample and reliability of the matrix can be measured through frequencies indicating what percentage of the data cells are "unknown" or "not applicable". These indices are built into program SIMPLE, which creates a similarity matrix. The user should note that index figures will appear on the screen after the run is finished and they are not reproduced in hard copy. The following scale can be used as a measure of reliability:

Measures of Reliability for Similarity Coefficient Data

Quality of Matrix Data	Percentage Range of Unknown or Not Applicable Characters
Robust	less than 10%
Acceptable	11% to 40%
Weakened	41% to 75%
Fragile	76% to 90%
Not Accepted	91% to 100%

This vocabulary provides a means to communicate the relative quality of these data matrices with respect to missing data and uncertainty of attributive detail.

The data used in the automatic processes were systematically collected during the period from 1986 to 1989. Subsequently, more recent material was adopted as it was available. When the impact of new data was tested, later material suggested no dramatic effect on the dendrogram output. That is, in comparing derivative clusters before and after new input, there was no effect significantly contradictory to the experimental results. This was encouraging, but any changes which might be introduced into a subsequent raw data matrix will have an inevitable effect, however small, on the coefficient matrix.

Therefore any massive input will require that the program be run again, when new data is of sufficient volume to warrant.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS: IMAGES OF CULTURE IN CULT BUILDINGS

When site data is formulated according to the working hypotheses introduced in the second chapter, it becomes clear that drawing the portrait of Roman and Byzantine cult life in the third to seventh centuries in the Levant will be a burgeoning multi-faceted pursuit. Our intent here is to point out the variety of those facets which together form an alternative agenda of a very full and open-ended programme in this subject. This chapter is, in a sense, the sign post on a busy crossing which points in a variety of directions, any of which the adventurous traveller might take⁶⁵. On taking any of these roads, for which we here take only the first steps, we will discover that each of our hypotheses may well justify an entire study in their own right. These, however, are left to another work. For our purposes, only an initial survey of such options is necessary to demonstrate the potential for growth and development in this approach.

⁶⁵ In models like this, confessional classification is no longer the *sine qua non* of interpretation of site data. The sign post at this crossing, then, is a busy one indeed, covered from top to toe with the available directions for research. As an alternative agenda, these directions represent other approaches than confessional that allow us to talk about religion on cult sites in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. Since we cannot pursue all of them in detail in the space available to us, we will restrict ourselves to pointing out the variety of religious concerns which emerge from our examination.

4.1 Sorting Out The Noise In The Archaeological Record

There are several trans-confessional categories through which we can explore something of the religious life for the populations who occupied these sites. Basic to the social, ethnic and religious identity of the congregation are the habits and customs shared between the members of the congregation and their immediate neighbours. By sharing in the same material culture, the congregation and the neighbours also share in the homogeneous artifact patterns which themselves reiterate social classification principles. Those classifications are flexible, and the boundaries of their classes permeable rather than solid. Classification characteristics are polythetic, their identifying components varying in proportion rather than formulating exclusive categories. In such a cultural system the religious life takes on the same character, describable in flexible social categories that cannot be portrayed as territorially exclusive. Indeed, in these sites we find that the categories of Sacred and Profane are neither simple nor exclusive.

For the religious communities of Late Roman and Byzantine Palestine, it would appear that life in ordinary domains and that activity characterized as 'religious' existed on the same continuum between Sacred and Profane worlds and herein lies the common ground of religious life for the Christian and the Jew. According to Eliade:

...for there always exists, in one form or another, a *breach* between the sacred and the profane and a *passage* from one to another -- which breach and passage constitute the very essence of religious life (1958:447)

These cult sites reiterate that continuity, but clarify for our purposes the nature and complexity of the relationship between sacred and profane realms.

Variation in the nature of the continuity between the sacred and the profane is clearly in evidence, but these sacred places seem always to be kept in some relationship to the mundane by means of carefully regulated routes of access or egress. Religious accessibility through these sites is not a chaotic, wandering open plain, but a carefully regulated urban plan complete with thresholds explicitly marking the boundary between sacred and profane realities. Religious life for these sites is properly spoken of as an aspect continuous to life in general but that continuity is articulated, its enclosures, boundaries, paths and cul-de-sacs carefully designed to govern the balance between permitted disclosure and the potential for accessibility or exclusion⁶⁶.

⁶⁶In this chapter, in any discussion about a specific sample site (these have identification numbers in square brackets [000]), references are to the sources in the Site Bibliography (Results: Technical Appendix 4F). References to more general topics or theoretical issues are found in the General Bibliography which follows at the end of the dissertation.

4.1.1 The Culture Context of Religion

The term "culture region" is here introduced as an heuristic device to describe and measure areas where neighbouring sites exhibit shared cultural traits. Shared cultural traits are evident in the similarity between the artifactual assemblage of one site and another. Strong similarity between sites located in proximity to each other suggest an equally strong continuity of social structure, relationships, habits, values and attitudes among and between the ancient occupants of those sites, while weaker similarity suggests independent social activity. Each of these patterns constitute characteristics typical of a cultural region.

From an archaeological perspective, continuity between sites is evidence for shared cultural traits indicative of culture regions. Although there may be sub-group differences among their occupants, from site to site, the archaeological record shows overall similarity among features of the material culture. These continuities may have been important communal identifiers shared by the peoples of these regions: occupants may have shared linguistic and ethnic traits; they may have had related means of earning a livelihood, common political alliances or religious practices.

The sites which have artifactual elements in common are distributed across a geographical territory and can be mapped. The character of that region can thus be read in the relationships between and within the archaeological classes of the site. Specifically those elements in common

among religious communities of Byzantine and Late Roman Palestine can be read in the archaeological record when we examine closely any similarities, or parallels, in site and artifact characteristics. These sites having many things in common in a limited geographical space, are defined by archaeologists as constituting a 'culture region'. Culture region characteristics can be described empirically, and form the basis for inference about the former way of life or "tradition" that created the artifacts. Similarity across a group of sites related in this way thus implies that the upholding ideas, concepts and values, which make a site appropriate for religious activity, were shared among the occupants of all of the sites in the group.

Despite its geographical nature, culture region configurations may or may not coincide with topographic and other natural regions. Sites located at the core may be very much alike but the profiles may become progressively more dissimilar towards the boundary to the region. In moving away from sites at the centre of their region, individuals and groups travelling or migrating within and across its territory could find for themselves, anywhere in the region, an acceptable house of worship but that finding would be more likely at the centre than at the edge. In progressive movement toward the periphery, they would find increasingly different formulations of religious concepts as they moved further away from the home base area.

In the data from our sites, we find evidence for three distinctive culture regions, their reach overlapping but describable as three definitive sets of site

clusters having one or more highly populated cores which fade to imprecise boundaries. These entities are described below.

It is noteworthy that these very general patterns do not appear to conform to traditional confessional configurations. Most clusters contain both churches and synagogues. Over and over again, synagogues and churches did not sort into two specific and discrete groups having distinct characters. Thus, sites compared in this kind of explicit detail do not point toward a social context nor do they illustrate pattern of culture that even remotely resembles any of the confessional entities. Rather, the ultimate complexity of permeable edges and overlapping patterns suggests something much more intricate.

Those who would nevertheless seek to find an association between specific sets of sites and the traditional confessional paradigm (i.e. a direct and conclusive one-to-one relationship between a definitive set of diagnostic traits and one or more aspects of confessional identity) are destined for disappointment. Such evidence is only weakly apparent in art forms and inscriptions, two artifact classes that have been pre-defined in normative and traditional Christian and Jewish terms. However, as we shall see below, taking *apriori* the regional culture approach in the question of confessional identity provokes a more interesting series of questions.

The result, in any case, is that any explanation of these sites must be couched in the language and structure of common elements, proportion and balance rather than simplistic isolation and confessional exclusivity. For these

sites, public cult buildings of different traditions were part of a cohesive and complex pattern of connectedness. This contrasts with the isolationist impulse for discrete species, which emerges as a sharply defined set of confessional categories of identity (or an abstract 'ism' attached thereto. In the end, the common ground of religious life for the congregants of these sites is found in the alignments between those communities who acted most like themselves, fostering a mutual and fundamental understanding of that which is held in common with their neighbour. At the same time, there were limits to the range and degree of variation allowed, a subjective measure of culture distance beyond which those neighbours were no longer one of 'us' but consigned to being one of 'them'.

As we shall see, religious differences can be measured in the material cultural distance between a dissimilar collection of cult sites. Culture regions, then, are the physical evidence that people handled artifacts in similar ways. That commonness is an expression of social solidarity. An individual's sense of belonging to a religious community or its sub-groups can be found in his or her recognition of and alliance with appropriate physical artifacts. The material culture of the cult building thus reiterates the community's efforts to establish themselves on the continuum between the core of one religious persuasion and the fading peripheries which melted into areas inhabited by others.

Evidence for several regions-of-similarity, which suggests a sense of common identity shared among some, but not all, congregations of the period,

was found in a close and detailed study of the archaeological data. Matching attribute to attribute in artifact profiles yielded regional configurations that have irregular north/south and east/west geographical dimensions, resulting in a series of shapes that appear to conform more closely to general features of the landscape than to historical, political or confessional boundaries typically extracted from their respective literary sources.

The reader is reminded that any references to geographic location, (i.e. map co-ordinates, or territorial identifiers, such as Judean Hills, South Coastal Plain, etc.) were not included as attributes in the similarity analysis, which was based on the physical description of elements within five classes of artifacts. The results of each series of clustering efforts are independently mapped for each artifact class. The mapping process was manual and geographical location remained independent of data encoding and computer work, i.e. the calculation of similarity between sites and automatic clustering of sites.

When the sub-clusters of similar sites are grouped by date, they range throughout the period under discussion. They can, but only rarely and imprecisely, be correlated to specific chronological periods of full centuries. On the bare foundations laid out during this research, there may be more sub-sets of culture configurations having chronological characteristics, but our results of preliminary studies in this issue are, for the moment, inconclusive. However, despite this, and based on the evidence at hand, there is material culture evidence for core areas in Galilee, Samaria and Judea. These areas more or

less correspond to the ancient territories. However, the material cultural boundaries do not coincide with Roman administrative or provincial boundaries.

It is possible that regional differences in site clusters may be evidence of geographical movement of powerful sub-populations under the impact of warfare, conquest and other forms of social and economic pressure, but we lack the tools which would give us irrefutable corroborating chronological evidence. We can, however, speculate upon the nature of the social, economic and political power held by religiously authoritative elites⁶⁷. For example, in Galilee, immigrating Pharisees and their rabbinic successors may well have tried, with varying success, to impose the standards of a recently inaccessible but revered ancient homeland upon the population in a new area. There may also be, in the cultural configurations, a basis for the sense of alienation, from the Jerusalem centre, typically expressed in rabbinic stories about Jewish Galileans. Clearly, the historical and religious questions as to why these sites within clusters came to be similar, in the way that they are, remains a matter for speculation and further research. With respect to our problematic, the lack of clear association between artifactual similarity and church/synagogue identification suggests strongly that the confessional paradigm ought not to be applied without a more serious examination of the evidence.

⁶⁷That Rabbis sought and gained a foothold in the power structure of Galilee has long been attributed to the third and fourth century. The struggle apparently went into decline by the end of the first quarter.

What can be said about these configurations is, at this point, largely descriptive⁶⁸: The core of the Uplands configuration is found in areas of rugged topography, both in the wilderness area to the south and east of Jerusalem and in the hills which form the central western slopes above *Kinneret*. The Lowlands region spills across the rich plains of the *Shephelah*, the marine coasts and *Kinneret* as well as the broad river valleys of Jezreel. Each artifact class (coins, architecture, situation, inscriptions, art) has its own distribution, and the number of sites which are 'pure' Upland or 'pure' Lowland sites in every artifact class is relatively small. It is more common for characteristics to be mixed on an individual site⁶⁹, but the overall pattern of difference between Upland and Lowland profiles carries through each of the artifact classes.

Similarly, a much smaller collection of sites in West Galilee is unique only with respect to some of its artifact classes and in many aspects has strong correlations to either the Upland or Lowland profile. The Galilean sites appear

⁶⁸ Similarity measures were obtained by boolean comparisons of attributes (not including geographical references). Those presence/absence measures were then treated to clustering analysis. Sites in each cluster were then mapped independently of the automated process and its coding. For further detail, see Chapter 3 (Methodology).

⁶⁹ Characteristics of each configuration are described in detail in the main text. Details necessary to identify and describe sites in the archaeological literature as well as the supporting data for our classification are available in the lists and indices which follow this chapter. Those who are interested in particular sites or who wish to pursue relationships between a smaller selection of sites should consult the Technical Appendices.

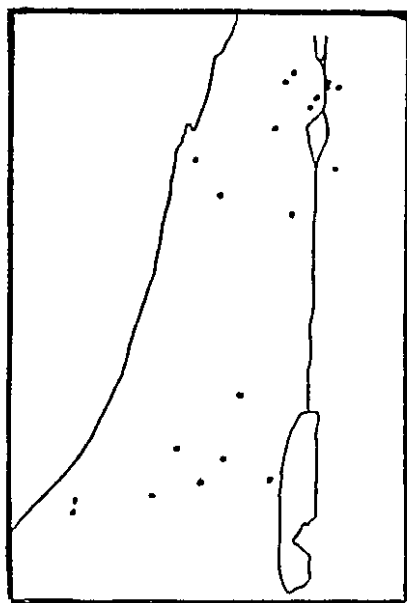
as a separate set of sites only with respect to a few separate clusters, and in only a few of the attribute classes examined. However, within the subset of distinctly Galilean materials (especially art and inscriptions), the cultural differences between Upper and Lower Galilee can be confirmed (Meyers, 1980, Vale 1987).

4.1.1.1 Uplands Configuration⁷⁰

The Uplands aggregate of cult sites is found in the slopes of the Judean Hills, flowing south and east from a concentration around Jerusalem that fades to the periphery toward the rolling slopes of the *Shephelah* (south and west of Jerusalem) and the marine coastline. The configuration has two distinct cores - the first in the Jerusalem area but flowing south and west. The second is on the west slopes above *Kinneret* (the Sea of Galilee), and on the valley floor between Mt. Gilboa and Mt. Tabor. North of *Kinneret*, it spreads along the western flank of the Rift Valley toward Mt. Lebanon and the Meron massif. The peripheral edges of the configuration are scattered westward across the Galilean uplands. The exact dimensions of the configuration varies with each artifactual set, but most sites are concentrated in east Judea and above

⁷⁰The configurations were derived from a cluster analysis of similarity between the artifact repertoires of sites. The coding process, measures of similarity, analysis of the similarity matrix and analysis of the dendograms resulting from cluster analysis are among the technical details explained under Methodology. Specific routines are presented in the appropriate technical appendices.

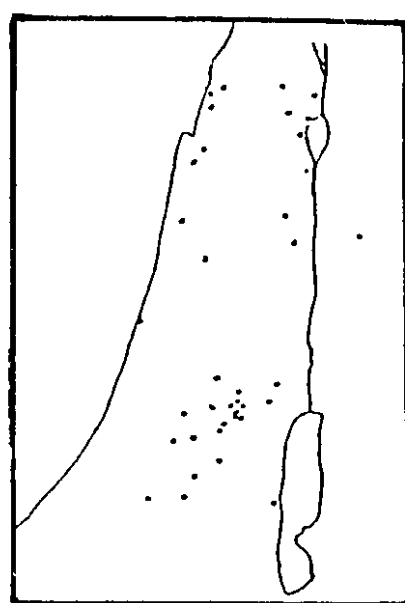
Site Distribution In The Uplands Configuration According to Artifact Category



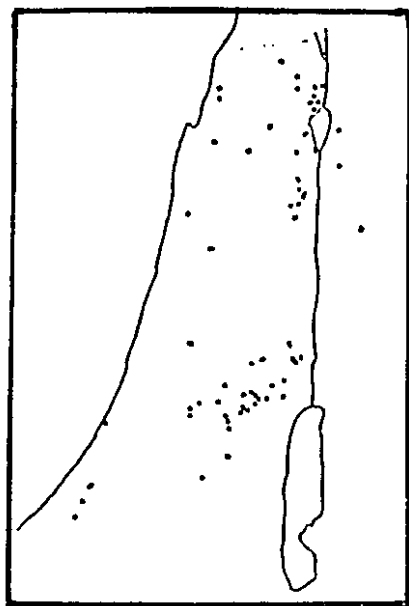
Coins



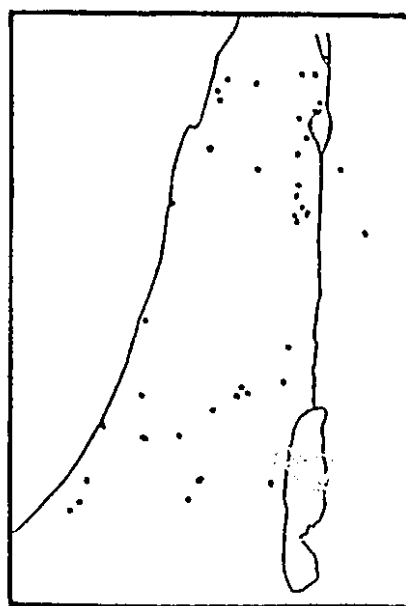
Architecture



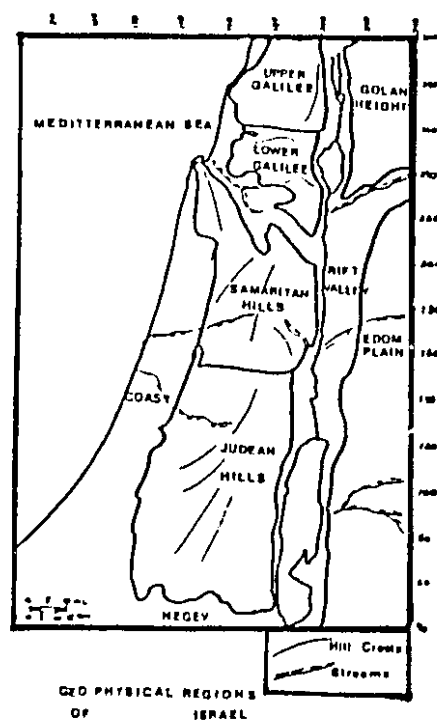
Site Situation



Inscriptions



Art Motifs

GEO PHYSICAL REGIONS
OF
ISRAEL

Kinneret. The art motif profile is most visible in Judea while the sites in Galilee are fewer and therefore part of its periphery. The typically Upland site situation profile is most visible in the *Kinneret* area while inscriptions are most concentrated in the eastern *Shephelah* of Judea.

The characteristics of a 'typical' uplands cult site can be described in considerable detail. These sites may have hoards or collections of coins, but often do not. Where coins have been found, they usually date from the fourth century or later. The historical half-century intervals to which the coins date suggest the average occupation period for Upland sites lies somewhere between the mid to later 4th century and the mid 5th century (4.65thC - 5.35thC). Only in eight of the upland sites (or 4.62% of all site phases in the sample) have hoards survived. Loose scatters are somewhat more likely to be found (8.67%). Within this Uplands category, what coins there are, are more likely to have been found here than in any other configuration. Of the sites which have coins (25 sites or 14.4% of sample), most are found here and 19 (10.98% of sample) are synagogues. Excavators have found a much more limited collection of coins in Uplands churches and in comparison to the findings in neighbouring synagogues, these seem not to have been involved in the use and exchange of coins.

Uplands cult sites were likely to have a mosaic floor although other floor surfaces are common as is the apparent affection for a rectangular plan. Mosaics were on occasion the object of donation by a patron and are so

described in inscriptions. Other attributes which rank high in this configuration include the apse, cistern and bema. Ranked attributes suggest that floor surfaces and square or rectangular-shaped floor plans were an important focus of architectural effort.

**Uplands Configuration: Ranked architectural attributes-in-common
(cluster identification in brackets)**

(a)	mosaic floor apse cistern grotto	(b)	variable floor surfaces mosaic floors bema apse lack of external structures
(c)	marble floors apse cistern	(d)	rectangular floor plan bema storeroom
(f)	sparse furnishings atrium narthex	(i)	chancel screen
(j)	rectangular plan mosaic floor bema square plan external structures	(k)	mosaic floor narthex
(l)	mosaic floor rectangular, square or octagon plans	(m)	rectangular plan mosaic floor
(n)	interior semi-circular apse apse	(o)	mosaic floor rectangular plan

The clusters which are composed exclusively of synagogues are rare (clusters (a,c,d) for a total of 12 sites) and we find no single cluster is exclusively made up of churches. Of the 103 sites which are reported on their architectural remains, 69% of those are churches, a proportion which only slightly exceeds that for the sample as a whole (60.12%). Of the rest of the Uplands, clusters are in most cases mixed whereby at least a third and up to a half of their sites are designated as synagogues. This is typical of the sample as a whole where churches constitute slightly more than 60% of the sample. In this configuration, the sites having architecture attributes in common (i.e. when clustered) are not uniquely either synagogues or churches. Rather, both Houses of Worship share a characteristic concern for decorating floor surfaces with mosaics and with designating the plan of their liturgical stage by means of an enclosure (in square or rectangular geometry) having a contrasting protrusion in the form of an apse and vertical differentiation of the space above the nave by means of the *bema*. The *bema* is typical for both church and synagogue in the sample⁷¹.

The cult buildings of this configuration are often found in a domestic situation although commercial environments are common and at least one site is associated with burials (Khirbet Sema [044, 045]). More generally, these

⁷¹ Krautheimer's comment (1975:40-41) that the hieratic element in churches was more developed in the 4th century due to the separation of the area of the Mass (chancel) from the lay portion of the church (nave, aisles) may well have been true but a corresponding development is also seen in synagogues, requiring a fuller explanation of the phenomenon.

Houses of Worship can be found near domestic living environments. The apparent connections between the householder (Neusner, 1981:250-270) and the cult structure may lie in a kin-related social network but the current evidence as to the exact relationship between the building and the houses in the immediate proximity is unknown. The central axis of an Upland cult site is most likely to be oriented from east to west (89% of known cases). The communities also appear to have favoured slopes or hill tops as building sites (95% of known Upland cases) although a few are found on shorelines or river plains (5% of known Upland cases). To keep things in perspective, the site situation is a relatively unknown aspect of the sites since information is available for only 31.79% of the sample.

None of these clusters are exclusively of one confessional identity or the other.

**Uplands Configuration: Ranked site situation attributes-in-common
(cluster identification in brackets)**

(e)	Orientation: ENE/WSW	(f)	Orientation: SSW/NNE
(g)	Orientation: E/W Orientation: N/S	(h)	Orientation: E/W Location: Mt/top/coast/slope

In the largest, where cluster (h) has 41 sites while the others have 8 sites or less, the balance is tipped toward churches (85.366%) and against synagogues (14.63%). Despite this, overall these 55 Upland sites are likely to be churches:

70% of these are churches while 29% are synagogues. As we see in the table above, the E/W orientation is found in both churches and synagogues. The finding rebuts assumptions made by many that an east-west orientation designates a synagogue⁷². This orientation, typical of the Upland configuration, is found for both although these occurrences would appear to be somewhat more typical of churches than of synagogues.

The language of inscriptions in the Uplands configuration is most typically Greek or Aramaic although Hebrew is not unheard of. The inscriptions suggest a strong affection for the use of titles. Most titles for donors are associated with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially those referring to clergy (e.g. anchorite, bishop, priest *cohen*). Saint or *mara*, is in common usage.

The recipients of donations tend to be less specifically and less frequently recalled in inscriptions. Both individuals (sometimes by name) and the community in general, are cited and coupled with epitaphs that reflect appeals for aid, benevolence and recollection as well as benediction, e.g. *amen*, *peace* or *selah*. Generally speaking, cult site inscriptions are not all that common. They are found on only 28.32% of these sites (49 sites). The majority are synagogues (16.19% of the sample, or 28 sites), a proportion

⁷² Regarding Qasrin [059], Urman writes: "The direction of the hall (N/S) does not correspond to that of a synagogue. It may have been a school with a synagogue attached to it." (Urman 1975(I):462. With respect to Ramat Aviv [060] Chiat reminds us that "Plummer (1979) is incorrect in assuming that the orientation of a building can serve as positive identification for a church or a synagogue when other signs are lacking." (Chiat 1982:166).

somewhat greater than that for churches (12.139% or 21 sites). This is opposite to the original whole data set where there are nearly twice as many churches as there are synagogues.

The tendency to exclusion and precision in the definition of social communities may lie in the linguistic habits of the congregants. This would certainly be the case where Hebrew and Aramaic continue to be taken as proof of synagogue populations. These attributes, including linguistic selection are described in the table below.

Uplands Configuration: Ranked inscriptions attributes-in-common (cluster identification in brackets)

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---------------------------|
| (j) | saint
greek, cohen
for salvation | (k) | aramaic
untitled donor |
| (l) | greek
aramaic,
for salvation, peace
Israel/recipient
trilingual, for blessing, "guard and protect,
this [most] holy place",
congregation/recipient,
mosaic donated
artist/donor | | |
| (m) | [1 site] | | |
| (n) | dated 'year of...'
located on floor of nave
Greek
on floor near altar, saint/priest/genealogical refs. | | |
| (o) | textual references
Aramaic, <i>peace</i>
<i>amen</i> , 'remembered be for good' | | |

Greek
 Hebrew, genealogical reference, administrator/official
selah, 'for blessing'
 'King of the Universe', donated mosaic (or its price)
 bilingual (HA), architect/congregation/priest/rabbi

In any case, all but one cluster are either churches (j,n) or synagogues (k,m,o)⁷³. Thus, in this artifact group and in the Upland configuration, we find that the pattern of balance and proportion shifts dramatically toward exclusivity between the confessional groups.

There is a profound absence of art, or a preference for geometric or floral themes, in the art profile in the Upland cult sites, although human and animal forms are not uncommon. In those sites where art motifs were used, we find the occasional use of tools, particularly the lampstand and the horn. Other motifs are present in Upland sites, but not held in common among member sites. They include the medallion, animals and vegetative themes such as the vine scroll and fruit. With the exception of the last two clusters, the number of common art forms drawn upon to furnish the Upland sites are quite limited and some sites are completely undecorated.

The Uplands pattern in art is found more typically in its churches (35.26% of the sample) than its synagogues (13.87%) although the tendency to repudiate images in both confessional types is generally strong in the art. There is also a correlation in some clusters between the selection of certain

⁷³ See Results: Technical Appendix 4C for the identification labels of clusters (round brackets) and the respective sites which fit within them.

images and confessional identity: three of the seven clusters are exclusively churches (a,d,f) while one (q) consists only of synagogues.

Uplands Configuration: Ranked art motif attributes in common (cluster identification in brackets)

(a)	no art geometric tools	(b)	no art geometric	(c)	geometric human
(d)	geometric geometric	(f)	floral		
(p)	geometric/guilloche lampstand/frame tree/animal fruit conch facade/amphora/floral /vine scroll human/zodiac/antelope	(q)	animal/geometric tendrill & vine /fruit/frame/fowl lampstand marine/tree facade flora/leaves		

This should come as no surprise where certain images or image clusters (i.e. the cross, the lampstand, etc.) are diagnostic features according to the confessional paradigm. There are, however, mixed clusters which are proportionate with respect to sample and population. In these more than 70% of the cluster were churches (b,c) or synagogues (p). The latter two clusters of sites (one is mostly churches, the other is mostly synagogues) are significant because of the extensive range of the images they call upon and the uniqueness of their presentation from one site to another.

4.1.1.2 Lowlands Configuration

The territory of the Lowland sites also begins at Jerusalem but flows north and west across the broad southern coastal plain between the *Shephelah* and the Mediterranean. Sites are also spread northward along the Mediterranean coast and throughout the Jezreel valley. Along the shorelines of *Kinneret*, there are two groups of sites located on the rich plains located on the southwest and northwest flanks of *Kinneret*. In this area, the mapped configuration is more consistent from one artifact class to another, yielding strong evidence of the pattern's importance to the shared cultural base of the regions.

Sites are heavily concentrated in north-west Judea and the south coastal plain. An important concentration is also found in Scythopolis, as well as northward along the Rift Valley from the *Kinneret* shoreline to the lower ranges below Sefat. Mapping the architecture results in the same pattern as for coins except that there are fewer Galilean sites. The "site situation" distribution has more sites in Galilee but follows the same territorial pattern. Distributions for inscriptions and art are also similar to the coin and architectural mappings.

Characteristic of the largest single cluster in the entire dendogram are sites without hoards or coins of any description. When mapped, that single cluster resulted in the Lowland pattern and, therefore, it can be said that treasuries and even coins are typically and perhaps completely absent from

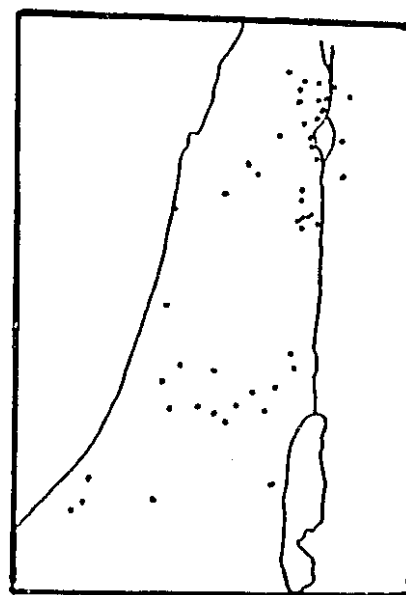
Site Distribution In The Lowlands Configuration According to Artifact Category



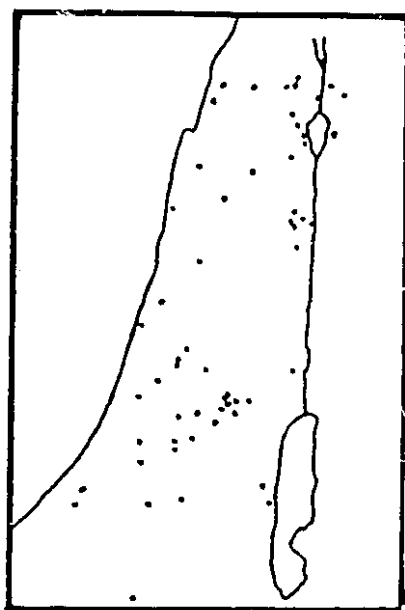
Coins



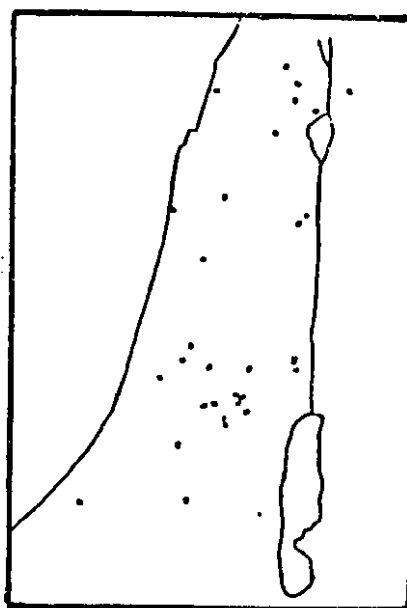
Architecture



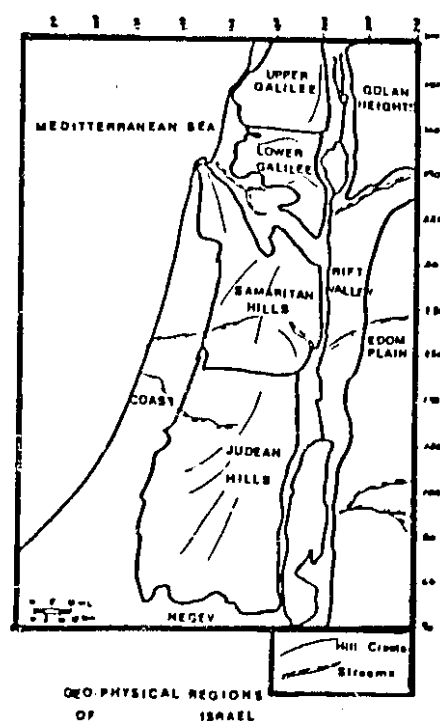
Site Situation



Inscriptions



Art Motifs

QEO. PHYSICAL REGIONS
OF
ISRAEL

Lowland cult sites. Aside from the difficulties created by treasure hunters who may have cleaned out at least some of these 141 sites, the cluster is large enough to force us to consider the impact of a cult-related economy which did not rely on the exchange of imperial currency. The proportion of synagogues to churches is only slightly greater than that in the sample suggesting that both synagogues and churches shared the use of currency.

With respect to architecture, the Lowland sites were most likely to have an apse or bema, although a narthex was common.

**Lowlands Configuration: Architecture: Ranked attributes-in-common
(cluster identification in brackets)**

(e)	narthex apse bema chancel var. furnishings var. column arr. no external bldgs	(g)	stylobate bases apse var. floors	(h)	mosaics bema benches apse
				(n)	apse
(s)	narthex flagstone mosaic floors stylobates apse limestone clerestory basilical plan	(q)	mosaic floors apse	(r)	external features bema narthex niche mosaic pavements
		(t)	mosaic floors rectangular pln		

Only 35.839% of the Lowland sites have architecture reported. Nevertheless, for those we know, floors of various materials may be mosaic or flagstone,

indicating flexible attitudes with respect to materials and building layout. The overall proportion of synagogue to church according to architectural features (14.45% and 21.39% respectively) is typical of the sample as a whole. Only a few of those clusters are exclusively synagogues or churches (clusters r,s respectively, amounting to only 7 sites in total). Only the second cluster (g, 13 sites) is disproportionately churches (84.62%) while the last (t) is largely composed of synagogues (71.43%). The remainder are evenly split at 50% of each, or roughly proportionate to the sample as a whole. As with the Upland sites, flooring materials and the apse are a common element in these cult sites, but in Lowland sites, there is a much greater likelihood to finding the narthex and a variety of other architectural features, among them the extension of cult property to a variety of external buildings which make the cult site into an architectural complex rather than a simple building.

The axis of most of these buildings (75% of sample) has a north/south orientation. The remainder are either unknown or are oriented slightly off that axis (i.e. SE/NW, SW/NE or SSW/NNW) but the overall orientation is along the lines of longitude rather than latitude.

**Lowlands Configuration: Ranked site situation attributes in common
(cluster identification in brackets)**

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) SW/NE orientation
domestic | (b) N/S orientation
domestic
commercial |
| (c) N/S orientation
mt. tops/crests | (d) SE/NW orientation
slope/terrace |
| (i) shorelines
SSW/NNW orientation | (j) mt. top
slope |
| (m) domestic
N/S orientation
spring | (n) no elements in common |
| (o) no elements in common | |
-

Their urban zone is highly varied from domestic and commercial environments to defensive positions near the wall or central to the town's administrative buildings. These sites are almost uniformly located on slopes or hill crests. In sharp contrast to the limited data typical of Upland sites, (a mere 31% of sample sites report on this subject) nearly 63% (110 sites) have information reported here. Of those, only two clusters are exclusively synagogues (c) or churches (n). Church-synagogue distribution in the remaining clusters is, however, much out of proportion to the sample as a whole, since they may have more synagogues (b - 87.5%, i - 60%, m - 71.43%) than churches (a - 66.67%, c - 54.55%, o - 88.89%, n.b. these are percentages of sites within the Upland configuration). Clearly there are some confessionally-selected aspects

to the situation but neither group had exclusive claim to a simple set of characteristics.

The inscriptions on sites which make up the Lowland configuration are most likely to be Greek, although Hebrew and Aramaic are also found.

Lowlands Configuration: Ranked inscription attributes (cluster identification in brackets)

(a) Greek untitled donors	(b) Aramaic untitled donors/Hebrew located in floor/lintel
(c) Greek floor of nave	(d) Hebrew Biblical text
(e) Greek floor of nave	(f) Greek/Titles
(g) Greek floor of nave	(h) Greek Titles floor of nave

There are also epitaphs appealing for help, salvation and blessing on two sites although these are not shared within a single cluster. Inscriptions tend to be located in the floors (usually of the nave or narthex) or scratched into window lintels. Of the 21.97% of sites which do have inscriptions, slightly more than half of those (11.56% of the sample) are synagogues. As with the Uplands configuration, a sharply demarcated set of inscriptional habits can be associated with confession. Three clusters are exclusive (those in (g) are synagogues, those in (e,f) are churches) but these clusters involve only 13

sites. Of the remaining clusters, in three of them (b,d,h), a large proportion of sites are synagogues (80%, 80% and 60% respectively, n.b. these percentages within the Lowland configuration) while only (c) is composed to an equally strong degree (83.33%) of churches. The prominence of the linguistic attributes and to a lesser degree, inscriptional habits in general, creates a line of demarcation along confessional lines but we are unable to break down the entire Lowland profile in the same fashion⁷⁴.

The same pattern of limited exclusivity also holds true for the artwork of the Lowland sites. The images in the art consist of an extensive use of geometric forms (especially crosses and moldings) on all sites, with frames (medallions, wreaths or other circle-surround forms), tools and a variety of floral motifs also quite common. There appears to be great appeal in the use of tendril and vine. Animals appear more often than human or marine forms.

These characteristics apply to 41.62% (72 sites) which reported art motifs. Of the seven clusters, only three are exclusive ((i) is made up of churches, (l,m) are synagogues) but the actual number of sites, in exclusive clusters with respect to art motifs, is again quite small (these clusters take up 17 sites).

⁷⁴ It is habitual in the reports to use any Hebrew inscription as the determining diagnostic marker for an ancient synagogue. The habit appears to be based on the historic ties between the confessionally-identified literary sources and the apparent knowledge of ancient Jewish communities which results. The practice leads to a very scarce incidence of association between Hebrew inscriptions and sites potentially identifiable as a church.

Lowlands Configuration: Ranked art motif attributes in common (cluster identification in brackets)

(g)	geometric tendrill & vine tools lampstand/animals human/fowl/fruit/frame	(h)	geometric frame medallion floral
(i)	geometric frame/flora/animal tendrill & vine animal	(j)	geometric frame floral marine
(k)	geometric frame animal tools fowl floral hen/fruit tree/tendrill & vine	(l)	no art geometric
		(m)	geometric floral frame tools
(n)	geometric frame fruit vine scroll/animal/amphora fowl trellis/human leaves/marine/cage/lampstand		

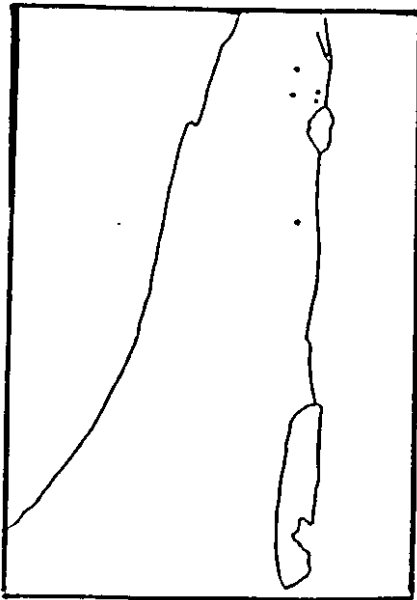
In all of the remaining cases, four clusters (h,j,k,n) were more likely to contain churches (each cluster was comprised of more than 65% churches), while (g) is made up of 57.14% synagogues and only 47.37% churches (percentages are within the Lowlands configuration). There is then, in the art work of the Lowland sites, a greater number of churches than synagogues but a pattern of exclusivity between these confessional communities is just barely evident.

4.1.1.3 Galilee

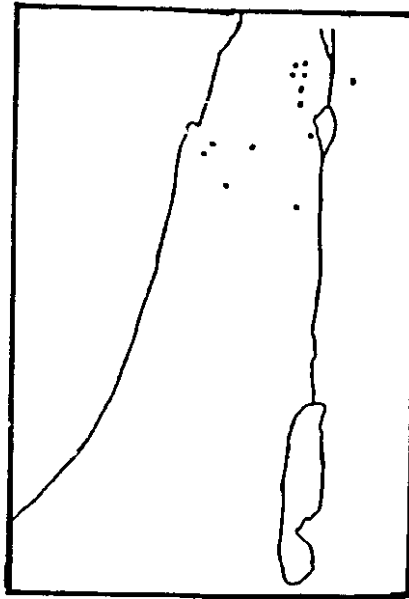
As with the configurations described above, some clusters showed their sites to be located completely within the area of Galilee but the profile of artifacts they carry is by no means exclusive to this area. Their characteristics appear to be an extension of the Lowland and Upland characters. Found in the west end of the Jezreel Valley in Scythopolis and above the northwest plain of *Kinneret* in Tetracoma, this small group of sites can cautiously be described as typically Lower and Upper Galilean but they share territory with neighbours whose cult sites may well have had Upland or Lowland predilections.

The 'Galilean' pattern appears to be somewhat indecisive with respect to some artifact classes and may be absent altogether in several. Clusters are few and their membership small. Our interest in the distribution of the cities where coins (found on cult sites) were originally minted is frustrated by the near-singular attention in the field reports to coins as proof of the site's date. Nevertheless, for those Galilean sites in which such studies have been reported, currency and thus the exchange of goods appears to have flowed between the cult site, local producers and cities north and west where mints were found; in Tyre, Tiberias, Caesarea Panias, Tripolis and Caesarea Maritima (for synagogues, cf. Meyers' survey of a slightly different group of Galilean sites (1980)). In general, among these sites, there appears to be more active use of currency in the cult economy, in that all sites have yielded up

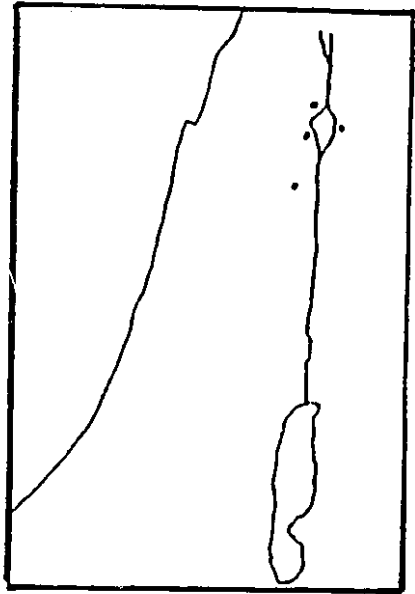
Site Distribution In The Galilee Configuration According To Artifact Category



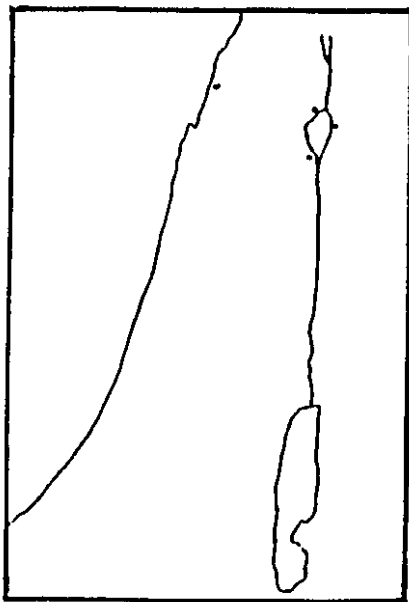
Coins



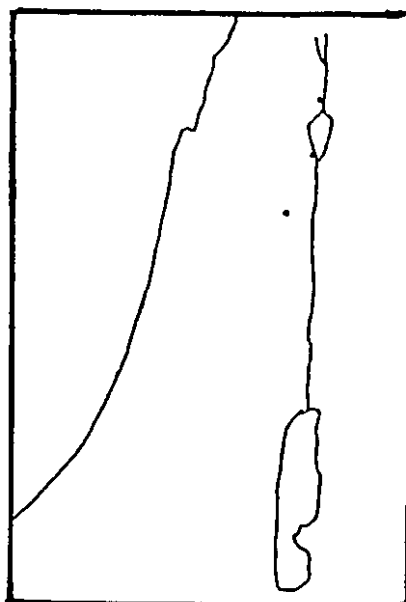
Architecture



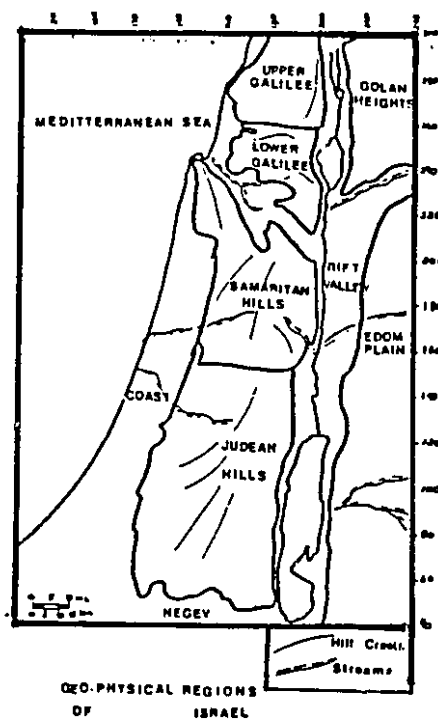
Site Situation



Inscription



Art Motifs



coins in large quantities (both scatters and hoards) and frequently of precious and semi-precious metals like gold, copper and bronze. The Galilean sites with major coin hoards more closely follows the Upland pattern, although we speak here of only a few sites (only 3.468% of the sample, or 6 sites).

Plaster surfaces, mosaic or flagstone flooring and a narthex are characteristic of Galilean sites. We also find the use of external structures in an architectural complex, which is a Lowland characteristic.

Galilee Configuration: Ranked Architectural Attributes (cluster identification is given in brackets)

(k)	mosaic floor narthex sq. plan/external structures	(p)	plaster surfaces flagstone/ext. struct./bases bema/lintel
-----	--	-----	---

Architectural features such as various types of column bases, the *bema* and a lintel appear to be have been in consistent use. The rankings apply more typically to synagogues (half of sites in (k), all of sites in (p)). The synagogues in these two clusters together represent 6.94% of the sample compared to only a few churches (1.74%). We are cautioned by the fact that these proportions are based on only 8.64% of the sample or 15 sites. The geographical differences in architecture appear more clearly to be the clustering factor since all of (k) are of Lower Galilee while those in (p) are primarily from Upper Galilee (6 of 9 sites) with a few from Lower Galilee and the Golan.

These Galilean sites have either a N/S or WNW/ESE orientation with differences split between Lower and Upper Galilean areas (see below, (k) and (l) respectively). The cultural influence may, therefore, have extended from either the Lowland (which prefer a NS orientation) or the Upland configuration (in which the cult site orientation is typically EW).

Galilee Configuration: Ranked Situation Attributes (cluster identification is given in brackets)

(k) N/S orientation	(l) WNW/ESE orientation
---------------------	-------------------------

The site situation is poorly reported in these Galilean sites (known data are based on only 3.47% of the sample or 6 sites) and the rankings above apply primarily to synagogues (half of (k) and all of (l)). Overall, the majority of Galilean sites follow the Upland pattern with respect to orientation.

The few sites with inscriptions, in the Galilean clusters, show their communities to have understood Greek and in most cases (3 of 4) the viewer could find them on the floor of the nave.

Galilee Configuration: Ranked Inscription Attributes in common (cluster identification is given in brackets)

(i)	Greek
	Floor of Nave
	(dated) 'year of...' or 'time of...'

Most of these inscriptions (3 of 4) are also associated with churches and point toward a linguistic bias typically of the Lowland configuration, although the number of sites are too small to be definitive on the matter.

The art motif repertoire in this small collection of exclusively Galilean sites is limited to geometric, fowl and floral patterns along with the frequent use of the frame device to enclose secondary images.

Galilee Configuration: Ranked Art Attributes (cluster identification is given in brackets)

(e)	geometric floral	(o)	geometric fowl (hen or eagle) frame tool (usually lampstand)
-----	---------------------	-----	---

The very sparse selection of images in the repertoire suggest strong associations, with respect to the art at least, to the Upland configuration. As with the configurations in art motifs, there is limited confessional exclusivity in the Galilean clusters. We are cautioned by the fact that the pattern of exclusivity in art for the Galilean sites applies to only 10.98% of the sample. Cluster (e) is comprised entirely of churches and the sites in (o) are entirely synagogues, following the tendency toward confessionally exclusive selection in art forms in both Upland and Lowland configurations.

4.1.1.4 Religious Implications From The Social Context

Religious and ethnic identity associated with the cult, then, is reinforced by a complex web of artifactual profiles shared by communities and found in common from one site to another. There is a sense in which Galilee represents that web, since it shares some but not all of the elements which characterize each of Lowland and Upland sites. There is artifactual conformity and limited selection among sites in the Upland configuration, despite the available variety of images for the population to choose from. Maintaining the small repertoire appears to have been a remarkably sustained process so that sites appear to be very much similar to each other despite their chronological origin throughout the period. This contrasts with the Lowland configuration where some sites are highly unique, drawing from an immense palette of images so that measures of similarity fall right off the bottom of the scale.

There are some noteworthy chronological patterns. Although there are sites from throughout the period in each of the three configurations, the sites in the Uplands configuration tend to be later. That is, when the date of construction (*terminus a quo*) of each of the sites is plotted in intervals of half-centuries, the mode (category that appears most often in the distribution) of the sample as a whole is the sixth century.

When the sample is classified by their similarity measures, the Uplands configuration is most often in 6th century or later. There are a few clusters of sites whose average date is from the third and fourth centuries and more from

the fifth, but overall the Uplands sites are more likely to be from the sixth century. In contrast, the Lowland site clusters are more likely to be of the fifth century as from the sixth, with almost as many dating from the fourth century. Missing data and the smaller numbers of sites limit our knowledge of the Galilean configuration, although we find that with the art motifs, clusters tend to be earlier (4th and 5th centuries) while in situation and architecture, the mode is typically later (6th century). Some site clusters of the Galilean group follow the Upland configuration but are earlier (*contra* Upland art patterns which tend to be sixth century or later) while others, although later than the typical Lowland configuration, tend to follow that latter with respect to architecture.

With respect to coins, situation and art, the Galilean clusters are typically of the Upland configuration, while the inscriptions follow the Lowland pattern. Characteristics of both appear in the architecture. Clearly there may be in this collection of sites the remnants of two different populations' views of what kind of activity and setting constituted a religiously appropriate context for religious activity, but the mixture has made their demarcation sufficiently difficult to instigate a third regional category.

There are patterns of similarity, then, which align sites into not confessional, but culture region configurations. These differences are, however, matters of degree. Coin hoards are more likely in Upland sites than Lowland, suggesting that postulating any kind of quasi-banking function for a cult site can be done more easily for Upland sites than for the others. There are strong

conformities in all of the sites, but in the Uplands configuration the vertical dimensions of architecture of religious space rose from subterranean cistern levels, to floors and eventually to a *bema* and second story levels. The expansion of the interior space involved the construction of an apse, in both groups, but the Lowland groups were also more likely to broaden the interior space to include a narthex, rather than heighten the structure into multiple stories. There, the 'navel of the world' is aligned to both interior spaces and exterior situation of the site where populations repeatedly built on slopes and hill top locations.

Likewise, inscriptions draw us toward differences in the use of titles in the Upland configuration which identify persons both by name and title (perhaps a basis for social status). Sites in the Lowland configuration more often referred to ordinary persons who are recalled by untitled names, often by reference to the individual's lineal descent. The use of short epigraphic sayings, especially in Lowland sites, may suggest an interest in and perhaps preoccupation with the encoded transmitted wisdom of pithy sayings and concise epitaphs. The very definite contrast between the N/S pattern of the Uplands and the E/W orientation of the Lowland configuration leads to recognition of widely different sacred maps, one seemingly oriented to the degrees of latitude and possibly to the astronomic appeal of the East, while the other finds its points of reference on the opposite points of the compass.

The number of different art motifs and the combinations in which they are used are quite limited, but more so in the Uplands than in the Lowlands sites. Certainly, the Lowland groups contain a much wider number of images - geometric, frames, tools, floral and tendril and vine - while the Upland sites were likely to have only geometric and floral forms, or no images at all.

Differences between the two configurations may correspond to differences in the size of the symbolic referent fields then in vogue among congregants. The architect selected only a few of the available combinations, and within these limits sought to encode the depths of religious and cultural expression.

Critical to our problematic, then, we have seen that a broadly based system of site parallels does not lead us to a confessional shaped categories but to recognition of polythetic classification of sites into a regional framework. In that framework the selection, by ancient cult site populations, of the common elements was complex and multi-dimensional. Only with respect to inscriptions and art do we find these populations operating in an exclusivist mode (and then only to a limited degree) which would be sympathetic to the portrait of culture as we understand it from the rabbinic and ecclesiastical sources.

4.2 Modelling Integration: The Cult Site and the Urban Environment

There were many different formulations which typified what was acceptable and what was not in the cult site setting and these expressions varied widely, not on a confessional basis, but in concert with the tastes of the neighbours. The routes, which connected a site to its nearby neighbours, can be read in the archaeological record as well.

To do so, we turn our attention from an examination of the sites-in-general to the detailed aspects of the artifact attributes where a different kind of approach is necessary. Again, we seek to provoke a new series of more interesting questions. In so doing, we focus on those elements which are in common between churches and synagogues and discover a whole variety of working hypotheses applicable to whatever set of attributes the researchers wishes to select. When we adopt hypotheses which permit a sense of integration, and we leave the traditional confessional identifications aside, the material culture again leads us to the mechanisms and processes which unified ancient religious life.

To explore the patterns of the material culture from the perspective of specific attributes, we turn again to the attribute classes which configure the site reports. For each of these categories (coins, architecture, inscriptions, site situation, art), individual working hypotheses are applied to a promising subset of attributes. Although data from which the culture region hypotheses was developed may be directly compared, that theory itself has not been assumed

in order that each of our studies can remain independent. The themes below are chosen from subjects which are typical *foci* for anthropological treatments of religion. In each case, the latter hypotheses may well stand on their own and, with the exception of art motifs, are discussed independently from that of culture-regions introduced above. In doing so, we are able to demonstrate multiple directions for study which can be pursued in subsequent research. Our interest is in pointing out the many directions available to the investigator who would explore the common ground between all of our sample sites without a *priori* assumptions based on confessional identification. In so doing we broaden the base of inquiry which informs us about the religious life of those who used churches and synagogues in the Roman and early Byzantine periods in Palestine.

4.1.2 Studying Attributes In Particular

At the beginning of this chapter we indicated that there were a variety of roads along which we could explore religious dimensions of ancient culture, roads which were governed by principles less confining than the confessional paradigm. In the previous section, one of those roads led us toward automated pattern-recognition techniques, in an attempt to sort out the apparent influence of large scale patterns of similarity from site to site. These 'images of culture' may imply that the cultural paradigm is territorial rather than confessionally or chronologically organized.

From here onward, and responding to the same problematic, the dissertation proceeds in a series of studies, each of which take a different and separate path. In an analysis independent of the culture region hypothesis above, we have (more or less randomly) selected some attributes which appear to be important because of their frequent incidence, their connection to the historical agendas of both Christian and Jewish faiths and their congruence with typical anthropological categories of religious activity. We explore here the ways in which trans-confessional artifactual elements, specifically coin treasuries, water sources and cult spaces, can be seen to unify various categories of ancient religious life.

In the previous section, we treated relationships between sites (Q-type analysis). In this section, we examine attributes, demonstrating a simple kind of R-type analysis of architecture and inscriptions. More sophisticated treatment is left for the future because of technical problems which will take considerable time and expertise to resolve. In short, we cannot, at this time, automate the attribute-by-attribute analysis, or R-type, on this data⁷⁵. The selection process must, for technical and methodological reasons, be governed by subjective

⁷⁵Although it would be extremely valuable to discuss variation in these features, and to uncover correlations and clusters of attributes (R-type), the volume of material justifies an entirely independent study. Important methodological problems arise out of inflexible nature of the database as it is currently formed. There are critical volume limitations, aspects of single-purpose complexity, and very precise requirements which arise out of existing applications. Writing the software and reformulating the database is a major development project. The tools to bridge this gap for this site material are currently in development but, for the present, have proved far too unready to include here.

criteria, and although it can be systematic and explicit, the "sense of significance" which is read in this data is not meant, in any way, to refer to statistical significance.

In order to avoid the confessional bias when selecting attributes for analysis, I did not collapse or reduce the variations in the attribute list. Instead, the more interesting possibilities were drawn out, according to a simple set of criteria, for further study. Objective efforts to collapse the list for statistical techniques such as correlation, cross-tabs, factor or multidimensional scaling represent future work. Some sort of statistical collapsing of variables would be particularly helpful because the process would reduce our impulse to appeal directly external agendas such as the confessional, or the culture-region hypotheses.

The appeal of external agendas is clearly evident even in the possibilities which have presented themselves in the current research. One could adopt the historical periodization and reduce the variables by lumping together the dating of coin scatters and hoards according two or three broad categories: prior to Constantine, the fourth and fifth centuries and the sixth century, although the descriptive profiles of such coin finds are rarely so tidy. It may be possible with careful attention to the many exceptions, also, to group together those sites which share a "predominant" inscriptional language. Architectural data may be divided between those Houses of Worship which allow for staff residences and those which do not, although not all sites are sufficiently excavated beyond the

basic hall that the presence of architectural complexes can be further described. Although much work needs to be done for this to be possible, reducing numbers of attributes in relation to these kind of criteria may make the overall package of data easier to understand. Thus certain kinds of reductions may be possible, if the methodological problems can be overcome, and these ways of clustering or breaking down the data in relation to significant variations are identified in passing throughout the following pages.

Despite the problems arising from subjective selection criteria, there are particular attributes or clusters of attributes which might be generally significant to our sense of ancient religion. This analysis proceeds with an initial selection of such attributes, working from the same sample of sites as in the similarity analysis above⁷⁶.

From this research, we have been able to isolate and identify the range of attributes which are typical and even atypical in ancient cult buildings of the period. Further, a comparable sample, meeting systematic criteria, has been identified. On this foundation, the specific and precise formulation of problems related to attributes and attribute correlations can now be addressed for ancient Near Eastern cult sites in this period. There may be attributes which can be associated with confessionality, and specific historical periods or sub-periods

⁷⁶The technique uses comparative frequencies of the attribute in question. Unless it is specifically stated otherwise, all percentages are percentages of the entire sample (173 sites) in order to provide comparable information to readers who want to pursue a more detailed analysis on their own.

which can also be correlated to pilgrimage sites, but missing data and the imprecision of dating *schema*, as sites have been reported, make this a project for the future. Also, correlations may exist within and between artifact types, i.e. triple archways, galleries, cloister-like residences and raised chancel areas may correlate, but we do not, as yet, have the means to do what amounts to an R-type analysis from the data set as it stands now. A close analysis of relationships between attributes may lead us to reconsider entirely the basis of classifications not just for cult sites, but for ancient public buildings in general. However, these projections must await technical developments which will permit us to supersede speculation and surmise with empirical discovery and documentation of attribute correlations.

In spite of these obstacles, there are other routes of inquiry which are passable from the crossroads where we stand. For example, in reviewing the attributes, we find that the variables in architecture and art can be interpreted as a force for exclusivity and disunity in the social environment. Architecture and art can express prevailing divisive and hierarchical relationships between persons and places within the site. For these interpretations, we assume that in these cult buildings, some places were held to be sacred space. As holy ground, these cult spaces were different than other, mundane places and we can read this "hierarchy of differently valued spaces" in the architecture of the site. Places of greater sacrality have a preferred location architecturally set apart from and then above other areas representative of mundane activity.

4.2.1 Currency Exchanges: Coin Hoards and Scatters

Provincial towns and cities in Late Roman Palestine were part of an imperial economic currency network that stretched throughout the Levant and the Mediterranean. That currency exchange system also included coins of other issues, especially those minted in provincial cities and used as currency in the local market. We find both provincial and imperial coinage in the remains of churches and synagogues of the period. Such finds would confirm that the cult community and/or staff participated in the currency network, obtained goods and rendered services, in effect carried on business for the cult by means of a money exchange. By making themselves part of the currency exchange, cult places were bought into the economic system of the time. As a religious institution, they were buying goods and selling services. Whether supporting their own staff or through charitable support, using coins made it possible for religious cults to trade in more convenient forms of exchange than barter. This convenience is symptomatic of an involved, pragmatic, this-worldly religious life.

There is also evidence that many cult sites did not participate in that network. Since currency was an available alternative, the absence of coins may indicate communities who rejected participation in the larger urban networks or who rejected, more simply, the cost and convenience of placing a currency value on religiously implicated goods and services. Instead, these cults may well have conducted their business through a barter economy

wherein goods and services are exchanged directly rather than through the medium of currency.

Overall coins are more likely to be found on synagogue sites than on church sites although numbers are too small to be statistically reliable.

Coin Find Patterns, Confessional Differences by Site Clusters

Cl	N	Syn	Hrds	Scptrs	Churches	Hrds	Scptrs
b)	*22	15	6	9	7	2	5
c)	*8	6	1	5	2	0	2
d)	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
e)	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
f)	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Totals							
	*36	27	9	18	9	2	7

*Note: some sites have both hoards and scatters.

The higher incidence of coins in synagogues may arise from differences in perception and use of coins in these Houses of Worship. Tentative speculation on the basis of the physical evidence may suggest that, in synagogues, the distribution of money in cult sites whether for expenses, worship or charity, was an integral part of community life⁷⁷. In churches, which may have been more

⁷⁷A rabbinic concern for the misuse of trust funds intended for charitable distribution brings to light the use of coin in the *quppa* (communal fund):

..."people at large made regular but small contributions of copper coins to the *quppa* ...How then to safeguard the surplus money?...For one, copper coins were liable to depreciate by rusting; there may also have been a problem of volume. The solution was to change them into silver currency...Money changing was a flourishing business..." (BT *Bava Mezia* 38a)

We find both copper and silver coin hoards on the cult sites in the sample.

elitist in character, distribution (if it occurred) may have taken place far enough off of the site to be out of reach of the excavators who have tended to clear and report on only the hall. In such cases, distributions were less likely to result in finds, whether of dropped or stored coins. Also, the reader is reminded that, in this sample, entire synagogue complexes are more likely than churches to have been more thoroughly excavated and reported.

It therefore becomes difficult to draw any strong conclusions on this evidence alone. There may be confessional differences in the quasi-banking function of coin storage and exchange. Church occupants may have chosen to keep their treasures in other places, while synagogue members kept hoards at the house of worship which represented the nexus of both the practical economic life and their religious life. The numbers are, however, quite small and it is safer to say only that, for that portion of sites which have coins in their artifact assemblage, the pattern of deposit is in the form of hoards (collections of coins concealed in the building remains) or scatters, meaning coins discovered here and there in the fill which makes up the debris of occupation. Less than half of sites with coins have hoards (9 sites or 5.20% of the sample)

If these hoards represent a community treasury; that is, they are collected and held on deposit for use by the community in times of financial need, then it can be argued that the community has established in the cult building a quasi-banking facility that collected and held currency as funds for community purposes. Cult buildings held higher-valued coins which would

argue for their functional value as a treasury. This is evident at Khirbet Marus [067], for example, where a recent excavation uncovered a hoard of gold (dating to Anastasius I, End 5th to End 8thC) and bronze coins (Alexander Yannai to the twelfth century) hidden under the hollowed-out base of a pit descending below floor level (Ilan and Damatti 1987:57). Also, a hoard of 1,100 coins was found under the floor of the synagogue at Beth Se'arim [008] (Kirk 1946/7:97). The same location was chosen in the later phase at Qasrin [069] where 85 coins (6thC or Early 7thC) were deposited next to the south-east column below Floor Three. In these cases, the cult site provided a secure location for the safe deposit of community surpluses.

Although precious metal coins are relatively rare in the cult site excavations, large hoards of lower denomination or less-then-precious metals are common, especially in cities like Caesarea where Avi-Yonah (1976:278) reports a hoard of 3,700 bronze coins, from the reign of Constantius II of 337-370 that was, according to the numismatic analysis, hidden in 355 C.E.)⁷⁸. Smaller villages tended to have smaller collections but they were by no means without value. A pot of small low-denomination coins (ca. 520 C.E.) was unearthed at Gush Halav adjacent to the NW entrance of the synagogue. The

⁷⁸ Consisting of 3,700 small bronze coins of the *feltempreatio* type, showing a soldier spearing a fallen enemy, of which the bulk are coins from Constantius II and a few of Julianus (360-363). The terminal date of 355 CE is the destruction of the synagogue (Avi-Yonah and Negev 1963:147).

dated coins cover a span of 188 years⁷⁹. At Horvat Rimmon [035,036], two coin hoards were found in a room adjacent to the main hall (Kloner 1980:222). In one case, 60 coins were found in a hole in the west wall of the synagogue, while the other hoard was found in a ceramic vessel placed upside down in the ground. The room also contained numerous bronze objects. These collections at Horvat Rimmon are contemporary with the plaster floor of the synagogue and date to the beginning of the sixth century. At Khirbet Sumaq [171], a small collection of six coins were hidden in the facade (Dar 1985:192) and at Rehov [063], a box full of 27 Byzantine (Phase 1 = 4thC, Phase 2=Ed 4th or E5th) coins was found in the plow zone, which unfortunately prevents us from locating its place in the structure. Coin hoards usually consist of large volumes stored as collections, in which some coins are of high value denominations while others suggest the slow accumulation of funds in low-value currency. In both cases, the community is prosperous enough to generate currency surpluses but the rate of accumulation, judging by the presence of precious metals vs. low-denomination coins, may vary significantly. The cult site, therefore, provided

⁷⁹At Gush Halav, another hoard of 1,943 small coins was found in the north end of the building's west corridor, although Hanson (1973:53) and Chiat (1982:25) indicate that the coins were not concealed and they speculate that this area of the synagogue may have been the seat of the money changers or an 'office' for the distribution of petty cash needs.

an appropriate central location in which to accumulate 'savings accounts' of coin hoards and in this respect, the cult sites served a banking purpose⁸⁰.

The use of a special facility to conceal these treasures is evident in some but not all of the cult sites which have treasures. Indeed, treasures can sometimes be found in the bema or apse of a cult structure, as at Beth Alpha [005], where excavators found 36 Byzantine coins, dating from Constantine (306-337) to Justin I (518-527) in an 80 cm. depression in the bema which constituted the floor of the apse (Avigad, 1976:187-188, Sukenik 1932:13). The same location was used at Hammath Teverya [030] (Dothan 1983:29,64), Ma'on [049] (Israel Dept. of Antiquities 1957:265) and at Khirbet Sema [044] (Bull 1970:234). Somewhat less predictable were the coins found at Khirbet Sumaq [171] where a small hoard was discovered in the facade, and similarly at Horvat Rimmon [035, 036] where coins were concealed in a hole of the wall in an adjacent room (Kloner 1980:227). At Rehov [063] the depository was a clay box (Vitto 1981:90), while the treasurer of Khirbet Marus concealed his collection in a sub-pit hollowed out of sight beneath the edge of a surface pit, well below floor level. At Kefar Nahum [042] the coins were in the platform, but they were sealed in the mortar (Chiat, 1982:95) and could not, therefore have been intended for recovery and further use. For these sites, then, the treasury

⁸⁰ The same function may be argued for some houses, especially in private houses of the village, as at Kefar Nahum (Loffreda 1973:41).

is located in the centre stage of the central nave rather than in a side office or corridors, thus establishing itself at the centre of meaningful liturgical action.

However, not all coins were held. It is equally apparent that the cult site may have performed in a re-distributive function so that coins were both coming in and going out of cult site premises. Instead of holding currency for emergency use, the money was re-circulated back into the community economy. The institution of charity whereby cult staff supplemented the meager income of the poor, orphans and widows is a common feature of ancient cult life, but there may have been other forms of re-distribution as well.

Although the direct evidence is meager, there is evidence to suggest that coins, and many of them, were being handled within cult site facilities. Thus coins are found scattered throughout the fill on top of and between floors, beneath destruction debris and sometimes buried under furniture and foundations⁸¹. In these cases, the sometimes-large coin scatters accumulated by the excavators⁸² are not the result of deliberate concealment, whether for

⁸¹For example, coins were found throughout the village remains at Kefar Nahum and also in the fill under the stone pavements of the synagogue (Loffreda 1973:41) In Trench Five, against the SE stairway at Kefar Nahum [052], for example, 45 bronze coins from Constantius II to Theodosius II were found (Loffreda 1981:55), while in Trench 1 coins of the late 4th century were uncovered (a single coin of 352-360, and a coin each of 341-346 Constantine I and 352-362 Constantius II) (Loffreda 1973:41) below the stone pavement of the court. Foerster reports 70 coins of the 4thC (364-375 C.E. found in the impressions of missing floor slabs and several coins in the fill underneath. Of the 170 coins Foerster reports (1971:209), only three (of the 4th C) belong in the fill itself.

⁸² Scattered coins are particularly valued when they are found by excavators in sealed loci in stratified deposits. As such they are important technical diagnostic

later recovery or not, but rather they represent the fallen remains of a busy traffic in currency within cult facilities. Certainly, the argument for handling of the coins would be appropriate in the case of Hammath Teverya [027-033] where the coins are in very worn condition (Dothan 1976:1181). In order to accommodate the demand for currency exchange, cult staff would require, apart from any hoards found on a site, a varied collection of local coinages. In support of this argument, finds have been reported in the stratified deposits at Gush Halav [024,025] where more than 225 coins were reported in fill (Hanson 1979:49, Hamburger 1954:224-226), and beneath the plaster layer between western exterior and interior walls (Meyers 1977:254). As well, coin scatters were located at:

Horvat Rimmon [035, 036] (Kloner 1980:227),
 Qasrin [059, 069] (Ma'oz and Killibrew 1985:290-291),
 Meron (Meyers 1976:862),
 Nabratein A [058] (Meyers 1980:4),
 Rehov [063] (Vitto 1980:215),
 Khirbet Sumaq [171],
 Beth Guvrin [082, 083, 135] (Avi-Yonah 1976:195),
 Khirbet Ammudim [043] (Avi-Yonah 1976:1137), and at
 Khirbet Marus [067] (Ilán and Damatti 1987:57).

Obviously not intentional collections, these scatters may result from coins being dropped, deliberately or unintentionally onto uneven floor surfaces. They were

indicators which, with soil analysis, ceramics analysis and architectural alignments form the foundation of inference for sorting out the absolute and relative chronological sequence of occupation layers.

not picked up again until they were found by an excavator's trowel⁸³. Clearly, there is enough money flowing about that the handlers did not feel the need to search the floor carefully as did the woman in the parable of the lost coin (Luke 15:8).

The hoards and the scatters may in some cases show up in the western corridor of cult structures. There appears to be no structural or architectural reason for this tendency. In Stratum III, at Gush Halav [025], for example the hoard of 1,943 small-denomination coins lay at what was once floor level, unconcealed, and just inside the entrance of the synagogue in the west corridor (Hanson 1979:50). Chiat reports their location to have been the north end of the building's west corridor (1982:25). The hoard concealed in the wall at Horvat Rimmon [035, 036] was actually found in the corridor at the west wall of the synagogue, the other side of which formed a row of rooms whose outer wall was the tenemos of the complex (Kloner 1980:227). Less exact provenance information from other sites does not allow us to be so precise, but the matter deserves more careful future consideration.

A rather curious habit in these cult buildings has come to light on a number of sites where thousands of coins may be found in the levels of fill in platforms or foundations. These are usually sealed in thick mortar. Clearly in these cases the cash flow was going one way -- toward the cult facility. Coins were never intended for recovery or re-distribution. Loffreda reports that at

⁸³ As at Kefar Nahum [042]

Kefar Nahum [042] a substantial collection of 2,920 coins were uncovered just outside the south entrance to the western wall of the synagogue, solidly embedded in the mortar of the passageway. In Trench 12 of the same site, 6,000 coins dating up to the mid 5th Century C.E. were discovered *in situ*, sealed by a stone pavement. In the foundations of the side benches of the 'prayer hall', excavators found 67 bronze coins within the fill, of which 6 were embedded in mortar, and in Trench 5 against the south-east stairway, 11 Late Roman coins (of Constantine I, Constantius II, Honorius, Arcadius) were buried under the foundation of the lowest step. (Loffreda 1981:55). At Hebron [103] 1,331 coins dating from Hasmonean times to the Crusader period were found in a layer of mortar more than 20 cm. thick, which repaired and filled the gaps in the ruined stonebeds (Mader 1928:28). An additional 400 coins were found among the disturbed fragments and ruins of the site.

The same practice was carried out at Qasrin [069] where many coins were found in the rubble fill behind the benches added to the interior during construction of the later phase. Sixty four have been identified with the latest of Anastasius I, 491-518 C.E. (Ma'oz and Killibrew 1985:290-192). These coins were deliberately mixed with the mortar and thereby concealed under the foundations. As such, Loffreda (1973:44) suggests that they represent a permanent offering not intended to be recovered. Concealment in this fashion certainly and permanently removes these coins from circulation although such removal may serve a variety of motivations.

The theft of coins from any archaeological site may well explain the relative paucity of coinage on these sites although their sheer absence on so many sites is puzzling. Countering the very real impact of theft, the full-scale excavations of the sites in our sample systematically uncovered new surfaces, and with increasingly close attention to security typical of modern research efforts, the finding and holding of small artifacts like coins is, in general, more likely. Where sites have been heavily disturbed prior to (legitimate) excavation or where publications report what are essentially surface finds, theft must be taken as a factor in the absence of coins.

On the whole, however, most of the sites in our sample were included because they were excavated with modern techniques designed to minimize the effect of disturbance by exposing new surfaces rather than relying on surface finds. Theft does not, in these cases, explain the sheer absence of coinage in deep excavations newly uncovered by legitimate excavators. Indeed, the most striking pattern in the coin evidence from the sites in our sample is the large number of 'have-not' sites on which not a single coin was found.

Their absence on such a thorough scale for such a large percentage of the cult sites (161 sites or 88%) may indicate that the imperial currency was not the only means of exchange for these cult communities. Evidence for non-currency exchange is found in the vessels and utensils of valued metals, especially bronze, found at a single site (i.e. Horvat Rimmon [035, 036]), even

though these would be as likely as any artifact to disappear into the illicit antiquities markets.

Among ancient occupants, an additional and probably more lucrative exchange in the basic products of every day life may have represented an alternative economic network which would have escaped the imperial tax officers. The absence of coins may also be explained by poverty, although the quality of architectural and other remains of some of these sites would indicate that other resources were indeed available. Where the silence of currency evidence is so deafening, it would appear that the occupants of towns having 'impoverished' cult sites apparently were unable, unwilling or found it unnecessary to include cult sites in their local currency exchange network. As such, their exclusion may well have meant their participation in an alternative market system that has little or nothing to do with imperial and local currency markets.

4.2.2 Transition Portals: Water and Water Containers

There are different types of water containers found on these sites, relating to different perceptions about the use and purpose of water on the cult site. In most cases, the site at its present state of excavation manifests only one of these types. In our sample, 45 (26% of sample sites) are reported to have water containers of all types.

Stepped pools are located in cult courtyards and accessory structures but not in the chancel, strongly suggesting facilities for bodily cleansing. That act of cleansing would have carried meaning beyond an ordinary hygienic context. In the same way, smaller vessels may have been available for partial ablutions (i.e. handwashings). In some cases there is piping to facilities identified by the excavators as a *mikveh* or baptistry. The timing of those symbolic body washings may have varied from calendric time (daily, weekly, yearly) to life-cycle events, (i.e. at conversion, after birth of children, etc.). The size and location of water containers may have varied with their ritual referents, leading us to rituals of immersion, (possibly infant) baptism and other forms of ritual bathing.

The use of such pools and cisterns, which are enclosed and/or covered on some sites but not others, can tentatively be related to confessional differences. This relationship is complex because confessional identifiers, rather than explicit form-related descriptors, are used in the excavation reports. We are more likely to find a cistern and drains in a church but we find them in site reports from buildings under both rubrics.

Site Frequencies In The Use of Types of Water Containers: Confessional Differences

	Cisterns Drains	Font Basin	Pool Bath	Local Spring	cave/bldg chamber	Descrip Unknown
Syn	4	2	6	1	1	1
Ch	12	4	4	4	3	1
Totals	16	6	10	5	4	3

The numbers are small but these frequencies would suggest that the use of pools, rather than cisterns, and smaller containers are not related to confessional differences. There are minor differences in the use of other types of water containers. This pattern may be related to the use of churches by elites rather than the common folk. Cisterns may have been needed to supply water to dormitories for staff living on church sites. Synagogue staffs may have been smaller or less likely to be cloistered on a cult site. The population using these water supplies may have been more likely to live in close proximity but not on site, thus not needing water there for general sustenance. There may also have been some resistance to the labour of carrying water on a cult site, but these remain speculative directions for further investigation.

As a general principle, water containers may have a number of significances in the context of a cult site. The most obvious value for water containers, of course, is in the sustaining qualities of water as it provides essential nourishment, especially during the dry season which in some cases extends through most of the year. Of those sites which have water

installations, nearly half (22 sites, 12.7% of the sample) include cisterns and an additional few enhance those cisterns with a sophisticated drainage system.

Cisterns and their associated drains form an important element of water supply and storage for these cult sites⁸⁴. Only 12 of those (6.9% of the sample) have added sufficient variety to have two types of containers⁸⁵ while only one single site has three types of containers on-site⁸⁶. This very limited repertoire of water containment on these sites suggests that the variety of perceptions operating on their use was itself limited and quite precise.

The most common location for water cisterns is immediately under the (usually paved) open atrium of the building⁸⁷ suggesting that storage of large volumes of water was not, in itself, a central element in the ritual activity associated with the internal spaces of the building. If large volumes of water

⁸⁴ Magen [171], Suhmata [158], Nahal Tanninim [151], Shavei Zion [139, 140], Khirbet Abu Ghenneim [121], Jerusalem/Eleona[110], Jerusalem/Ch. of Holy Sepulchre[109], Beth Yerah [014, 090, 092], Khirbet Marus [067], Abde [070, 071] 'Ammudim [074], Na'aran [054], Ma'on [049], Huldah [037], Hammath Tev [030], Beth Se'arim [007], Sepphoris [157], Meron[053], Ma'on [049], Gaza A [022], Beth Yerah [014]. Byzantine Caesarea has an elaborate water storage and transport system including street sewers and aqueducts but direct evidence of connection between the cult site [015] and that system is as yet unavailable.

⁸⁵ Magen [171], Jerusalem/Eleona[110], Khirbet Marus [067], Abde [071], Na'aran [054], Huldah [037], Beth Se'arim [007], Meron[053], Ma'on [049], Gaza A [022], Beth Yerah[014]

⁸⁶ Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre [109].

⁸⁷ Magen [171], Shavei Zion [139,140], Khirbet Abu Ghenneim [121] Suhmata [158], Jerusalem, Eleona [110], Beth Yerah [090, 092], Abde [070, 071], Ammundim [074], Na'aran [054], Hammath Teverya B [030], Beth Se'arim [007].

typical of most cisterns might have been required for ritual purposes, it would appear more likely that cisterns would have appeared in a location much more central to the liturgical drama, which they do not. There is usually only a single cistern on these sites, with multiple cisterns evident on only a very few large sites in this sample: therefore, large-scale water storage facilities are correlated somewhat to the size of the site. In any case, they are not critical to the central liturgical stage. Water cisterns were apparently available for anyone who frequented the open courtyard of the building complex.

These courtyard cisterns are of limited surface area with approximately square or bell-shaped plastered inner surfaces designed to minimize evaporation and maximize collection. The round mouth is usually at floor level, with the remainder extending underground. If there were any barriers or covers for the cistern, it would appear that these have not generally survived, or alternatively, this information was considered too mundane to report. Water storage would appear to be of some significance to the community as a whole but appears not to be central to the site, architecturally speaking. This conclusion is reinforced in those cases where collection into the basic cistern is enhanced by a drainage system⁸⁸. Conduits may be of lead or pottery piping⁸⁹ and carry water from the roof and other parts of the site to the storage installation.

⁸⁸ Nahal Tanninim [151], Huldah [037], Magen [171], Beth She'arim [007].

⁸⁹ Magen [171], Beth Se'arim [007], Huldah [037], Nahal Tanninim [151].

Although the use of cisterns in many cases appears to be the exclusive means to hold water on the cult site, there are those sites (12 sites or 6.9% of sample sites) which use more than one type of container. If the use of a different type of container indicates co-existence of a different perception about the use and meaning of water, then the appearance of alternative forms brings onto the site additional reverberations for that image matrix which is characterized by water containers. Cisterns are designed for water storage. Water is drawn out for other uses. Individuals do not themselves enter the cistern, except perhaps when it is empty and being adopted for other purposes. There are, for some sites, containers additional to cisterns in the form of pools⁹⁰, fonts or basins⁹¹ and stepped baths⁹². These forms involve variation in surface space, scale, and function. Differences impact strongly on the storage function typical of cisterns and indicate an entirely different purpose for these installations.

There is some variation in the category of temporary water storage containers, particularly for fonts which have been in the case of churches

⁹⁰ Na'aran [054], Huldah[037], Gaza A [022], Beth Yerah[014].

⁹¹ Magen [171], Jerusalem Church of the Holy Sepulchre [109], Abde [071]. The three plastered basins at Ramat Rahel [152] are part of a wine or olive press which was filled in during the building of the church and were not, therefore, in use by the church population.

⁹² Khirbet Marus [067]Beth Se'arim [007], Meron[053], Ma'on [049].

attributed to liturgical rituals of baptism⁹³. Although the explicit descriptions of fonts are less than complete, we have sufficient information to indicate that they fit well into a more general category of small-scale, temporary water storage installations. The font surface area may be round, square or cruciform⁹⁴.

These installations differ from cisterns in that they are often located inside small buildings apparently erected especially to house these installations, buildings which are themselves at the periphery of the central cult site facility.

Similar in function to cisterns but very different in shape and scale, bowls, basins and fonts indicate the need on cult sites for small scale, temporary and sometimes portable water storage facilities. It is difficult from the reports to clearly discern the differences in form between water basins, fonts and stepped baths. Here, basins and fonts are represented on only 7 sites (4.05% of sample sites)⁹⁵. They are small scale features which are located either at the doorways between courtyard and building interior or within the structure itself, sometimes under the apse of a small side chapel. Measurements indicate that these basins are, at least in theory, portable although their stone weight would be daunting. At Gaza [022] two large marble basins were found, not *in situ*, in the eastern part of the building and Ovadiah

⁹³ 'Agur [073], Kefar Nahum [117], 'Evron [167, 168, 169], Beth Yerah [091], Jerusalem [109], Susita [159].

⁹⁴ Magen [172, 173].

⁹⁵ Kefar Nahum [042], Beth Alpha [006], Jessud Hammale [040], 'Agur [073], Magen [173] and Kefar Nahum [117], Kafr Kama [116].

(1970:196) theorizes that they may have stood on tall stands in the courtyard. A water basin measuring 90 x 100cm was found at Jessud-Hamale [040] in the north west corner of the hall (Chiat 1982:50). Stone vessels were also found in the court yard at Beth Alpha [006]. Sukenik suggest that the stand outside the wall of the vestibule may have been the vessel's former location, convenient for 'water for the washing of hands'. At Kefar Nahum [042] as well, excavators located 3 limestone lavers in the form of "hollow, inverted fustrums" measuring 7 cm. high with a capacity of 60 litres. Clearly these are temporary storage devices which would have had to be regularly refilled under the impact of a dry climate and frequent use, since they do not have their own plumbing systems. Their smaller size and frequent need for re-filling would make them inconvenient for simple storage, but particularly apt where cleaning and frequent replacement of fouled water was required.

These basins and fonts are therefore suitable containers in liturgical functions which require acts of cleansing of smaller objects, parts of the human body or even small infants. Water would be drawn from the cisterns, poured in the basin prior to the washing process and then either emptied or, less likely, allowed to evaporate. The action requires preparatory steps associated with acquiring water from the storage facility and the subsequent emptying from the reservoir of the fouled water. The location of these installations in courtyards and smaller buildings yield further evidence that use of the basins was, itself, a

peripheral and perhaps preparatory action associated with cleansing activity prior to full participation at the liturgical centre stage.

Functionally very different from cisterns and other water storage devices are the pools and stepped baths which are evident in the sample (17 sites or 9.8% of sample). These cavities are of a scale sufficiently large to be permanent installations. Pools, and perhaps fountains as well, are evident at 6 sites⁹⁶. These plastered reservoirs have a large surface area and are generally located in or about the courtyard of the building. At Na'aran [054], entry to the narthex was gained by going around a square pool built at each of the two entrances while at Ma'on [149] the pool is part of a water installation including a stepped reservoir and water channels leading to a nearby cistern and other sources.

The larger surface area indicates plentiful water supplies, and carelessness with respect to the problem of water loss through evaporation, suggesting that water storage is not their purpose. These pools may be quite large and fountains have been hypothesized in some cases. In at least one case, at Meron [053], existing fissures were plastered and incorporated in a network of bedrock crevices, pools and channels which became a shrine for water rituals in the medieval period (Meyers, *et al* 1981:6).

⁹⁶ Ma'on [049] Na'aran [049, 054] Ramat Rahel [152], Gaza [022]. The cruciform 'baptistry' at Ascalon [077] is 10 x 4.5m and constitutes a volume sufficient to call it a pool.

Stepped baths (5 sites or 3% of the sample) represent a more conservative surface area, comprising a relatively narrow opening in the earth descending from the surface by a series of plastered steps⁹⁷ into a cramped floor space. Covered, the chambers would be small, hot, cramped and dark. If temporarily filled with water, they would, however, furnish sufficient depth for complete immersion of an adult. To use these small chambers for washing, however, would entail considerable discomfort. These facilities are designed to be entered and then quickly exited, rather than extensively used as they would have been in domestic quarters. The lack of drainage installations would in most cases argue against permanent use as a water storage installation.

Use of the facility, whether a pool or bath, involves departure from exterior spaces into a separate interior space and subsequent re-entry of those exterior domains. In a few cases, the cover of the bath has survived to confirm that departure is quite absolute and may even suggest that the stepped bath echoes of cultural images associated with hewn caves or tombs. These

⁹⁷ The stepped bath at Magen [170] has four steps to a narrow bottom, a mere 75 x 80cm in size. At Khirbet Shema', [045] the excavator describes a *miqveh* under the NE corner of the structure, which apparently went out of use when another was built on the nearby east slope. At Meron [053], the rock-cut cavity descends by seven steps and is enhanced by a small separate heating chamber which shares the same set of steps. At Khirbet Marus [067] Ilan and Damatti (1987:54) discovered underground cavities including "a ritual bath with an adjacent cistern". Finally at Magen [172], a square opening leads by steps into a cramped floor area also 75 x 80cm. and only 1 meter deep. The Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth [138] has a small pool leading below with 7 steps. Speaking of Gaza [022], the excavator reminds us that "In spite of its closeness to the synagogue, we should not assume that [the installation] was a ritual bath but rather a bath house" (Vlaminck 1900:177.)

plastered subterranean chambers thus link into a complex series of images associated with essential transformations. They mix the cleansing qualities of water with those of dying and rebirth. The dramatic uses of entry and exit of domains can be endlessly adapted for liturgical functions involving both transition and transformation, particularly rites of passage and death/life cycles.

Our description has involved cases where water is contained, where its motion is stilled, collected and contained for liturgical purposes. No description or interpretation of water uses would be complete for these sites without mention of the habit in at least five sites⁹⁸ where cult sites are built in close proximity to existing wells and springs - water sources which spring directly and continually from the earth. The Kathisma Church at Ramat Rahel [152] is located 500 m. from the Well of Resting (*Bir-Qadismu*). There is a well near the structures at Bahan [079] and 'Ein Haninya [148]⁹⁹. A spring provides water for the grotto at et-Tabgha, about 200m. from the Church of Loaves and Fishes at et-Tabgha [145]. Finally at Geras A [023] there are strong springs located nearby at the base of the mound. The sites thus perpetuate the relationships between cult activity and the life which is symbolized in water and in the earth.

⁹⁸ Geras A [032], et-Tabgha [145], 'Ein Haninya [148], Bahan [079] and Ramat Rahel [152].

⁹⁹ The well of 'Ein Haninya is associated with Phillip's baptism of the eunuch (Acts 8:26-38) although arguments have been put forward for associating that event with 'Ein ed-Dirweh.

4.2.3 Permitted Disclosure Between Liturgical Spaces

The community-wide sense of the degree to which the sacred realms are connected to more ordinary realms is made visible in the physical plan of these cult spaces. There is a pattern to the available floor plans which illustrates and reiterates the variable degrees of insulation or integration which may have existed between these realms. Central liturgical spaces may be completely isolated and hidden. They were secretive places probably accessible only to a few religious professionals and initiated devotees, or they may have been open, inviting places in which visitors and non-member adherents would have been equally welcomed with congregants and the religiously qualified elite. Although it is impossible from archaeological remains to indicate exactly who might have had various degrees of access, it is nevertheless possible to determine the patterns of proximity between different parts of the site plan and the routes by which such comings and goings would have taken place.

Walls, barriers and room dividers are important indicators to the religious use of the cult. Walls may be used to keep the Sacred area protected but accessible to the congregation. They might be further used to segregate the spaces accessible to members of an inner elite but not to ordinary members of the congregation. The barriers are more likely to be found in churches than synagogues although we find them in both.

**Site Frequencies In The Use of Some Types of Architectural Barriers
around The Nave: Confessional Differences**

	Solid Walls <i>Temenos</i> Laterals of Apse		Permeable Walls: Columns	Chancel Screens
Syn	23	55	13	
Ch	150	1	65	31
Totals	173	1	120	44

For these buildings, solid *temenos* walls surrounding the site and interior permeable walls are the typical pattern. Walls are clearly used to separate the site from the urban environment. The use of boundaries, both surrounding the site and internal to the building, is by these frequencies, more emphatic in churches than in synagogues. For the churches, many of which fall chronologically into the latter half of this period, the sacred is portrayed as a protected and secluded private place kept that way by architectural boundaries. These differences can be pursued *ad infinitum* for those interested in a confessional agenda, but for our purposes, we note that these barriers exist and that there may be a correlation between their use and the building's confessional identity.

For cult buildings in general, the pattern of contact between central liturgical spaces¹⁰⁰, secondary spaces and the realms of mundane activity is

¹⁰⁰Unlike Canaanite and other ancient shrines in which worship rituals are closely tied to an outdoor, natural setting, these sites are indoor meeting places with no obvious connection to any nature-defined setting.

one of regulated disclosure. By regulated disclosure, it is meant that the physical barriers between such spaces control the degree to which one can see, hear or move between these spaces. The barriers themselves have a limited repertoire and are employed in a patterned fashion. The barriers may be simple or elaborate, made so by the use of intermediary spaces on the cult premises which themselves lead to other spaces, their multiplication increasingly insulating and making more complex the route between mundane realms and liturgical activity.

There are several different kinds of physical barriers in the archaeological record. Characteristic of all of these buildings is the enclosure of space so that there is an interior and an exterior aspect to cult site spaces. In short, these cult sites are not open-air shrines but enclosed spaces. Once the dimensions of what is interior has been clarified, that space may be further subdivided by solid walls, walls with openings that permit access (i.e. doorways and columns) and partial walls (i.e. windows and screens) which restrict movement only.

There are three mechanisms of physical boundary regulation found in the architectural remains on these sites. The most restrictive form of regulation is the closing off of spaces by means of a solid wall or platform, without doorways, windows or steps, so that no means of access is provided. If rooms were to be used by physical persons at all, the entry would have been above the surviving foundations. In this case, restriction is complete. The rarity of such enclaves indicates clearly the degree to which these cult sites are for the

use of people as much as they are for the use of deities. Complete restriction of rooms in these architectural plans is rare and, in the archaeological literature, is generally explained, not in religious terms, but as a necessary engineering device to support walls.

Much more common is the use of permeable walls which mark spaces but do not restrict the movements of people. On a scale away from complete restriction, doorways in solid walls are a very common means of access between the cult space and its immediate environment. Within the building, doors are widely used to provide access between sub-divided spaces within the structure. These sub-divided spaces may themselves be closed off to any except the central liturgical spaces. Such openings may be combined with other barricading devices, but in general, freedom of movement from one space to another is both allowed and controlled by openings in the walls.

Slightly more permeable and exceedingly common are columnar 'walls' in which movement is only slightly restricted but the edge of one space and the beginning of another is nonetheless clearly demarcated. Widely used in the exterior spaces of cult site complexes are atria and porticos, in which columnar walls satisfy the engineering requirements necessary to support roofing, as do solid walls, but do so in a less claustrophobic and restrictive manner. The category may include piers, pillars and columns of many different types but they have in common a permeable quality of openness between cult spaces.

Intermediary between these two ways to barricade space on the cult site are partial dividers which may restrict physical access but do not necessarily impede access by visual or other sensory means. The low, stone chancel screens (panels approximately waist height) so common in these sites illustrates that restrictive quality. Screens are fixed in sockets usually at the edge of the chancel area (its demarcation made more emphatic by the use of steps) but they are also permeable in that they are low enough for congregants in the hall to participate as observers but not as direct actors in liturgical activity. Primarily observers rather than immediate participants, congregants may be represented within the screens by members of a religious elite.

Prevented from physical participation by partial walls of this sort, ordinary congregants may have participated from a distance through at least three of the five senses available to them¹⁰¹. These restrictive barriers may have been fixed in their floor sockets, their sheer mass resulting in a permanent restrictive barrier that does not completely close off the liturgical space within.

There also may have been moveable devices, depending on the need of the liturgical moment, but permanent fixtures are the most common survivor in the archaeological record. Windows may also be used to form a partial wall, but again, these have only rarely survived in the archaeological record. Most

¹⁰¹ i.e. they can see and hear what is going on beyond the screen even if somewhat distantly, and can smell the use of incense or other scents. The senses of touch and taste may be possible where the chancel screen is low enough

site walls have been destroyed at their above-ground levels and their plan is determined from foundation and threshold stones alone.

Counterpoint to the prevention and restriction of movement around barriers are the permissive routes of access between sacred spaces and mundane realms. Permitted movement between interior cult spaces and the mundane environment would have been of two types in these sites. The simplest route is a direct one involving few intermediate spaces. Persons can move between interior and exterior space by means of doorways and open courts leading directly from one to the next. The relative distance between sacred interiors and their mundane environment is short and simple, in a direct visual line so that one can look and move directly from the street to the hall. Exiting the structure, one can simply step across a threshold or down a staircase to find oneself in the street. Often, however, more complex routes from site to street are convoluted and involve turning about, down corridors and around corners in order to transverse the lengthened and indirect route between street and hall. The visual line is shortened by the use of many corners and a plethora of intermediary spaces. Such complexity in the plan insulates the central liturgical spaces from the street.

However, despite attempts to restrict access, the seamless connection between the central liturgical spaces and ordinary life is most visible in the outer reaches of the cult sites where they meet the street. Cult sites were found in various urban zones and especially in domestic areas, where dwellings, cooking

facilities and other finds indicate the close proximity of living quarters to the cult site. Living next door to a sacred site may have, in the model of the sacred enclosure, reinforced the comfort of 'God with us', the deity being one of the high-status neighbours who lives next door. Proximity also reinforces the association between dwellings in community and deities an idea which, when collectivized, confirmed the claim of city entities on secondary gods and goddesses, angels and other assorted helping figures in the heavenly bureaucracy.

Other types of urban contexts include defensive zones (usually fortified and containing garrison accommodation and weaponry), and commercial quarters associated with market places and high consumer traffic, as well as industrial sectors where manufacturing processes would predominate. Commercial and industrial settings would have provided a reciprocal benefit between the craft workers and traders and the cult establishment. By placing cultic buildings in these contexts, staff would have been able to encourage the use of trade goods for gifts, donations, sacrifices and provision of ritual and practical needs in the church or synagogue. Such activity would, in turn, sustain the economic viability of nearby trading and industrial enterprises. By building in easily accessible locations, the cult staff ensured that they would be on the receiving end of such production. In such circumstances, staffs could take important roles in the management of the marketplace and civic government. By religiously sanctioning trade and controlling prices, an

educated cult staff would have exercised a great deal of control over the social and economic affairs of the local populace. Cult sites would require, for liturgical and staff needs, products created in cottage industries and market places, and such proximity would be positive to the product flow between them.

Sites may be enclosed by *temenos* walls, atria or exterior structures. They can then be elevated with slopes or the construction of *temenos* platforms. The sacred places have a preferred location apart from other structures representative of mundane activity but synagogue sites are most striking in the near absence of *temenos* walls. Despite the wall, the cult site itself appears to have been, throughout the period, a most approachable threshold.

Although the exact character of the seam between the cult site and the environment is variable, in general the sites of the Roman and Byzantine period are more highly integrated with, than they are isolated from, their urban environment. The context of the meeting between cult site and street is most frequently the domestic and commercial quarters of the city. Thus, in close proximity, people lived and traded next to the cult site and were less likely to be conducting administrative or defensive activities.

The activities of daily life and large scale cosmological co-ordinates can be read in the data of site situation. The current theoretical development of site situation hypotheses has been limited to the orientation of the cult site,

particularly as it relates to the floor plan, the hypothesized direction of worship and their relationship to a single and sacred point of reference in a shared cosmology (Chiat 1982a, 1982b). That discussion usually turns on the way in which central pilgrimage sites like Jerusalem were important in the determination of sacred direction. However, while the expertise to locate a building axis exactly was certainly available¹⁰², it appears that the orientation to the larger site need only have been general. Rather than incompetent sloppiness on the part of the surveyors, it may well be that the local environment simply took precedence over all other direction indicators.

Thus, as has been agreed by consensus, the 'sacred direction of worship' does in many cases lie generally toward Jerusalem or toward the East, but not always exactly so. Orientation to the cardinal points of the compass and central pilgrimage sites may well be inexact because of the existence of other, smaller scale, specifically local cosmic maps. In contrast to the macroscopic cosmic map drawn by the stars and central cities, and on a microscopic scale, cult sites were situated close to their users' environment with urban, topographical, aquatic and other features available in local proximity. The features to which a site may be oriented are highly variable, but include hill tops, water sources, and more often, streets, marketplaces and main

¹⁰² The literature on zodiacs relative to synagogues in particular is extensive (Sonne 1953, Hachili 1976, Kramer, 1965 Charlesworth 1977. Astrological beliefs and astronomical skill, however, were common throughout the ancient world.

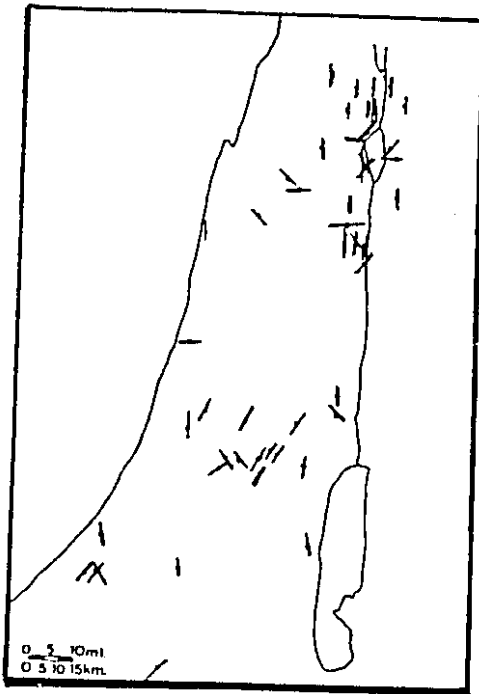
thoroughfares. Cult sites were built within cities and towns, often in the centre of commercial activity or along busy routes between the town gates and the city centre, resulting in a rich, locally integrated mixture of multiple, overlying cosmological maps which governed 'sacred direction' in the cult site.

The consensual hypothesis that the sacrality of building orientation lies in its relative reference to another location, and not to a locus within the respective cult structure, is an extension of the view that certain sites, or cities, are more holy than others in the sacred map. In this view, an hierarchy of location was the determining factor in the layout of floor plans and governed the ensuing direction of worship. The focus of devout ritual would thus have been beyond and away from the local place of worship and toward a central 'locus of the sacred' in the manner of the Davidic temple in Jerusalem. Our evidence suggests that floor plans are not directed toward a small set of such centralized places. In a "central place" model which fixates on the cities which were also pilgrimage destinations, one would expect to find those nodes at the centre with all architectural axes leading inward. However, the incredible variety in orientation directions which would be expected, were the 'wagon-wheel' pattern to be valid, does not materialize in the mapping of the sites.

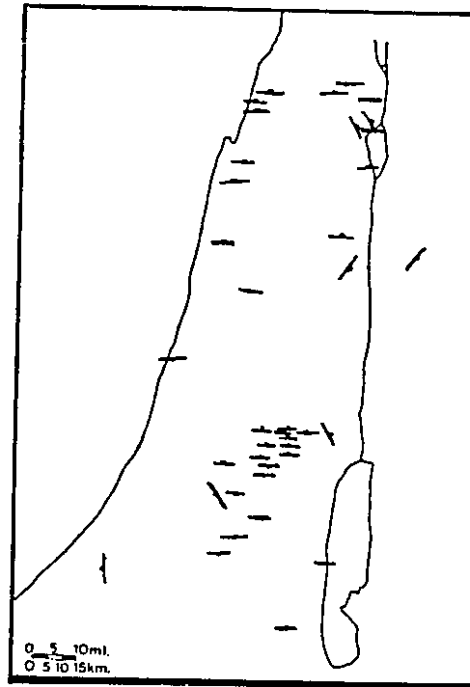
If orientation is defined as the direction across which lies the longest axis of the building¹⁰³, it may have more to do with the local environment than with

¹⁰³. Interpreting the direction from the fragments of interior furnishings is difficult and often impossible. The *bema* made the point clear in only some of the structures.

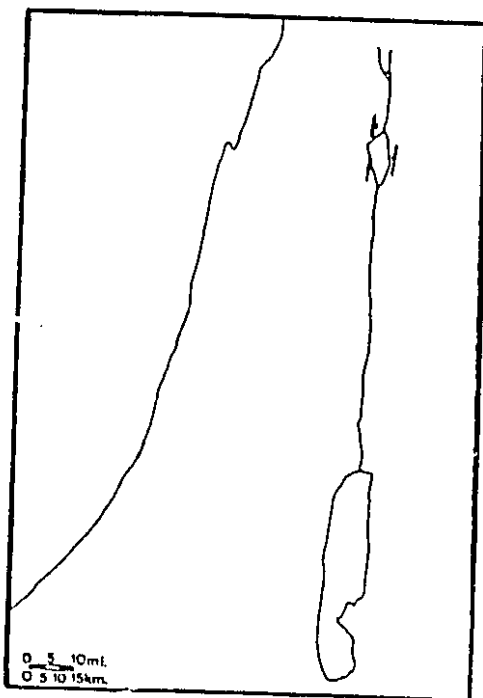
Cult Building Orientation on Ancient Cult Sites



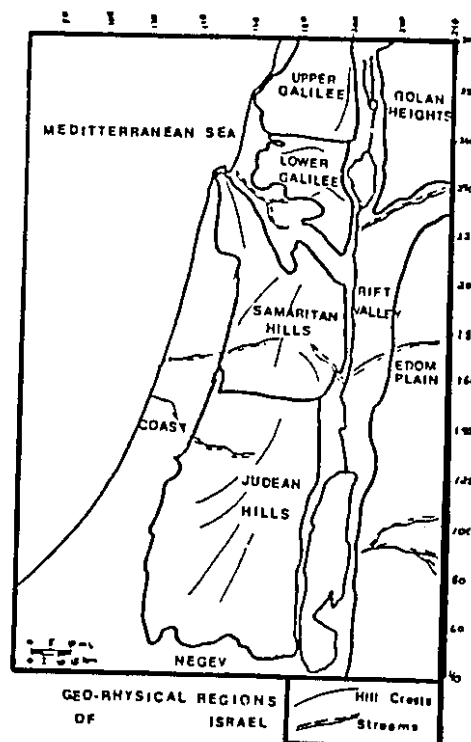
Orientation: Lowlands Configuration



Orientation: Uplands Configuration



Orientation: Galilean Configuration



more distant centres. The N/S orientation of the Lowlands aggregate are aligned with the Rift Valley except for a few cases where they face on to large bodies of water. The Uplands aggregate, on the other hand, diverges from the N/S direction toward the East and West. The regional core is based in and around Jerusalem but sites are scattered as far as Ptolemais and the Meron massif in Galilee.

Although quantifiable evidence is lacking on this point, it might also be argued that orientation has more to do with astronomical points of reference than with pilgrimage destinations. The systematic presentation of sites oriented to the major compass points would indicate that these sites could have been designed in accordance with them. In particular, the consistent patterning may imply a 'deliberate and sustained observation' of astronomical phenomena in the manner of the Woodland Mounds of Mississippi, the Mayan monuments in Central America or the Amon Ré temple at Karnak in Egypt. The practice of astronomical alignment in sacred sites is as old as Stonehenge, and if religious practices associated with these buildings originated in this kind of age-old tradition, the cosmological maps overlaid on these sites almost certainly involved more than pilgrimage sites. The correlations between direction and regional culture configurations are intriguing although we lack evidence from which to address the issue. There may be an association with trade routes, which do contrast between Upland and Lowland areas. Trade routes are, however, governed as much by the topography, water supply and security as

they are determined by the travellers intentions. It may be that the populations from the Uplands preferred to associate their sites with distant Jerusalem, while the Lowlands populations were more clearly oriented to the sea, or to the ancient call of eastern sun.

If an astronomical function was associated with these sites, the cult function could well have been intermediational as well as educational, preparing members of its staff for consultative functions in matters of the celestial arts and astronomical phenomena. In this context, the role of cult staff would extend beyond any sacrificial model to academic and magical, arcane functions associated with establishing and interpreting solstices, equinoxes, constellations and seasons.

As speculative as this line of discussion quickly becomes, we can nevertheless also see that the number of directions for research are broadened by the approach wherein the cult site is seen as an integrated element in the urban landscape. In fact, the truly interesting aspect of a close study of the architecture in this sample is the limited number of options taken by these communities and the strong degree of conformity which tempered the designs of their House of Worship whether they be called Christian or Jewish. In those designs, there is always a focus, a sometimes raised centre stage, apparently reserved for the expression of the most important aspects of liturgical worship, and thus constituting a separate space, perhaps more holy in an already holy place. Despite the special nature of this place, it remains part of the continuity

which stretches from mundane space into the interior depths of the building and the cosmos it symbolized. Whatever the nature of the barricade between this most holy place and the rest of the interior space in the building, there is always a means to cross it. That passage is often indirect, through side aisles or chambers, but the route itself seems always to be available.

The common theme in all our various probes of the architectural evidence is the degree to which the cult site is an attempt to enclose, define and make precise the extent of the several degrees of liturgical spaces. That desire is in sharp contrast to a tradition which might make use of sacred groves or worship in movable shrines. These are not mere "spots." Rather, these spaces are a constructed, interior space carved out of the mundane world. The sacred space within, however public, is contained in an ordered fashion wherein creative irregularity is an anomaly. As service facilities are added to the structure, it reiterated the need for isolation from the world around it. Despite this, access through its halls is never cut off. The process of transition is, however, contained, regulated and controlled.

4.3 Hierarchical Patterns of Exclusivity: Maintaining the Structure

In these buildings, this 'high place' can be said, on one hand, to be a wholly private place but it is by no means an entirely isolated or self-contained space. Although an hierarchical relationship divides the inner sacred spaces from more mundane realms, there are strong integrative elements in the

architecture. There is no doubt that the religious life of these ancient sites had strong interconnections between sacred and mundane parts of the cosmos. Integration does not run wild however. We find no chaos here. The places where qualitatively different domains meet are closely regulated and highly structured. These meeting places are routes of access carefully governed by portals and openings through partial or complete barriers. In the ancient world, deities and other inhabitants of sacred realms are separate but not detached from human activity. In such an environment, the ability of religious leaders to overcome separating barriers (Lightstone, 1984:13) was an essential means of preserving cosmic order. These adepts became the means for ordinary persons to communicate safely between outer, mundane, public areas and inner, secret and therefore sacred realm.

The architecture of separate and hierarchically organized sacred spaces can be seen, in our sites, in the use of a raised *bema*. The platform may be further barricaded by other terraces and shielding screens. The *bema* demarcated a liturgical centre stage qualitatively different than the more publicly-accessible areas on-site, namely the outer courts, the nave and its aisles. By isolating some of the interior spaces in the cult sites, those specially qualified in the business of crossing such boundaries could keep some of these areas for themselves, restricting members of the more ordinary populace to the remaining space in the building.

Whenever ordinary persons have been excluded whether by custom or edict, their lack of familiarity with those places from which they are barred transforms those inner places into secret spaces and, in the ancient world, mysterious habitations of deity fraught with spiritual danger. The more complex (and perhaps more hazardous) the process of entering these mysterious habitations¹⁰⁴, the more available was the opportunity for certain exceptional individuals to distinguish themselves as especially adept at the work done in these secret places. Clergy could present themselves as especially knowledgeable experts in the business of climbing up the spiritual ladder to accomplish work in divine realms.

To that end, the physical plant of the site is adapted to control access by means of architectural barricades between central liturgical spaces, and thereby to reinforce at a social level the hierarchical nature of religious geography. The inner architecture of the building reinforces the view that the routes to God are available but are imbued with such difficulties that ordinary persons seeking the

¹⁰⁴ The element of danger encountered by the religious practitioner is a common theme both in mystic literature and anthropological study of spiritist religions. Relevant to our topic, see especially the material related to Hebrew *merkavah* and *kabbalah* by Blumenthal (1978) and the classic works of Scholem (1946, 1949, 1965, 1971, 1974). The role of early Christian 'shamanistic' practices is a dissertation in itself. Extensive literature on the study of shamanistic practices is cited in Lessa and Vogt, 1979:301-331, see especially the article contained therein by K. Rasmussen "A Shaman's Journey to the Sea Spirit" (the parallels between Thule shamanism and the rabbinic experiences recounted in the *Merkavah* are very interesting). For general interest, the reader is referred to I.M. Lewis's book, **Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism**, 1971, F.C. Happold, **Mysticism: A Study and an Anthology** and Hill, **Mysticism**, 1961.

divine presence are best assisted, or even represented by an expert. To assist the ordinary congregant in the face of such difficulty, the size of these facilities suggests that liturgical experts may have relied on their own support staff who would in turn be related to the revered practitioner according to an internal pattern of authority. To accommodate that staff, and provide working space, the cult site has the character of an architectural complex. Storage, working and dwelling facilities were built around the basic cult hall in many of these structures which dated throughout the period. The residents of the cult site lived and worked on the site, spending their time at the very edge of sacred spaces.

The religious expert living in the cult site complex would have had an intimate knowledge of the workings of the inner architecture of this special, sacred space. Such knowledge of the 'sacred portal' by which they obtained audience with the Divine, would have been a necessary and indispensable aid to worship and indeed, their essential survival. Their demonstrated expertise would lead others, ordinary folk of the congregation particularly, to respect and to depend on their religious authority. Thus, both persons and places associated with the site can be said to be located in an hierarchical pattern of greater and lesser sacrality. The degree of disclosure between levels is facilitated, but also limited, by the architectural nature of the site.

4.3.1 Asserting High Places: The *Temenos* And The *Bema*

These cult sites are not flat spaces. The floor levels change planes throughout the structure. In so changing, they elevate certain spaces above others, so that interior spaces that are articulated horizontally by several kinds of barriers are further separated and raised up. These differences in elevation reiterate an hierarchical arrangement between realms. This is so particularly between spaces of ordinary activity and liturgical activity and between sub-stages of interior liturgical spaces. Some reach further into divine realms than do others.

The architect may have taken advantage of topographical structures in the neighbourhood, situating the building in a series of terraces following the slope of available ground. The common practice appears to have been to construct a level terrace or platform as a foundation for the building. Established thereon were platforms and partitions which subdivided interior space in both its horizontal and vertical dimensions.

Access between terraces is permissible, although regulated and contained by the architectural plan. As we shall see, division of horizontal spaces by means of partial and complete barriers provides for movement up and down. The terraces were often breached by a series of stairs. In some cases, a central monumental staircase reached from court to narthex or *atria*, leading from these lower and outer courts to the nave. More ordinary staircases were used in liturgical areas, as were steep and narrow corridors

hidden well away from public domains and leading between liturgical areas and the back rooms of the chancel area¹⁰⁵. These features cross on-site topographic boundaries and counter the partitioning effect, of the terraces, walls, colonnades and screens that divide liturgical spaces, by allowing controlled movement on and off of the terraces and platforms.

Terraces and platforms help to set the cult site and its intermediary spaces (atria, narthex, courts, etc.) apart from the immediate urban context. However, the building could be entered by the official routes of access maintained through broad staircases, doorways, courts and corridors. By creating a series of terraces rising from the street, from court to nave, and from nave to chancel, the architect succeeded in establishing a vertical gradation to the topography of liturgical space that was as carefully patterned as the horizontal plan of the site. Liturgical spaces could be made to be, partially or wholly, isolated and enclosed interior spaces, separated from the street in the vertical as well as horizontal dimension. In being so set apart, liturgical sub-spaces could then be imbued with a separate, secret and thus more sacred character.

Separating interior chambers with barriers created enclosures that demarcated, by several degrees, the liturgical stage from the spaces reserved

¹⁰⁵ In the case of the narrow, hidden staircases, these passages were clearly not designed for use by large numbers of people. They contrast strongly with the spacious width of the typically monumental staircase leading from the street to the atria and other courts and subsequently to within the pronaos and nave and were most likely for the restricted use of cult site staff and liturgical participants.

for ordinary congregant activity. In these realms so separated, barriers within barriers heighten dramatic effect. Parts of the liturgy could be made further sacrosanct, held apart as the province of the specially qualified leadership within the clergy, to be carried out by an elite-within-the-elite. Thus liturgical activity is not only brought out from the congregation, and its members excluded from direct participation in sacred dramatics, but within the clergy itself, a further hierarchy of responsibility and authority may have developed. By separating out the most sacred spaces and reserving them for the knowledgeable few, the cult community instituted an hierarchical division of space that corresponded to the ranking of special knowledge about access to those realms.

Exemplary to the practice of exclusion in cult liturgies, the gallery has, in synagogues at least, been understood to be the preserve of lesser status persons. Where a gallery exists, it has been understood as a space at the periphery of the nave, often in a second story. The 10 sites (17.3%) which provide evidence that can be understood as a gallery with any certainty¹⁰⁶ are all synagogues except 'Agur [146]. Excavators have uniformly designated these "galleries" as a space for women, girls and males under the age of

¹⁰⁶ 'Agur [146], 'Arbel [003], Bar'am [004], Beth Alpha [005,006], Kefar Nahum [042], Khirbet Sema [044,045], Korazain [048], Ma'on [049]. Evidence for a second floor (whether partial, i.e. a gallery or complete) is usually inferred from rather than observed in remains; especially stairwells, the existence of a stronger supporting columns and other extra pieces of architecture not belonging in the main floor layout.

majority. However, other than the assumption that these were 'women's galleries', an assumption which appears to be based on traditional practice (see Brooten 1982), there is no physical evidence in our sites to suggest that the lesser status persons who may have been restricted to these galleries were women and children. Even further, the scarcity of galleries in the sample would suggest that the practice of separating part of the congregation for liturgical performance was not typical. What is more certain is that in the few cases where they existed, the balconies could have separated persons in this way by distancing them from central liturgical space. Such a practice would be in keeping with the pattern of rendering ever further to the periphery of sacred space those persons who were also peripheral to the religious social hierarchy.

On the same principle, the spaces at liturgical centre stage may have been off limits except to those specially qualified to enter. The degree of privacy and security in the otherwise open and accessible chancel area is evident where we find small storage pits dug into the surface of the platform. In some cases, the *bema* served as a convenient place of concealment for valued objects such as reliquaries and coin hoards¹⁰⁷. Protection could be bestowed, apparently, on objects kept in proximity to the most sacred areas of the site, and that benefit was tapped to secure treasured possessions of the community. The stage is thus set to reinforce the pattern of contained secret

¹⁰⁷ Beth Yerah [090], Jerusalem, Mount of Olives [113], Hammath Teverya A [320] and B [030], Kafr Kama [115, 116].

places, outwardly and apparently public to the congregation, but in actuality exclusive except for those who can cross the barriers.

However, our urge to generalize an apparent exclusivity for liturgical activity for all cult sites of the period is tempered by the incorporation, on many sites, of conscious and precise provision for avenues of access and egress. More than half of these sites have central naves in which the chancel area is not barricaded with platforms, screens or other devices. Specifically, 57.81% of sites in our sample do not report the discovery of a *bema*. However, the incidence of those sites which do report a *bema* alone, without the use of screens or further enclosures (43 sites or 24.86%)¹⁰⁸, is frequent enough to reconsider an hypothesis of blanket exclusion between the domain of ordinary congregants and that of the clergy for all sites.

Rather than blanket exclusion, the enclosures act in a dynamic manner. In concert with the *bema*, the effect of enclosure is maintained in and around centre stage by the interplay of three architectural elements. These are: the platform itself, the placement of a chancel screen, and use of terraced

¹⁰⁸ Abde [070, 071], Ashdod [169], Beit Sha'ar [081], Beit Jimal [080], Beth Yerah [089, 090], Beth Alpha [006], Beth Se'arim [007], Bethlehem [096], Ein Kerem [099], Esthemoa [020], Esthemoa [021], Geras [023], Gus Halav A [024], Bethany [093], Haninya [148], Hanita [102], Horvat Rimmon II [036], 'Imwas [076], Jericho [038, 104], Jerusalem's Holy Ascension B [108], Jerusalem's Church of St. Anna [106], Jerusalem's Mount of Olives [113], Jerusalem's Church of St. Stephen [105], Jerusalem's David's Tomb [039], Khan el-Ahmar [119], Khirbet Abu Ghunneim [121], Khirbet en-Nitla B [126], Khirbet Sema [045], Khirbet Kufin [129], Khirbet Susiya [046], Nabratein A [056], Qasrin [059, 069], Rehov [061, 062, 063], Silo [141], Suhmata [158], Susita C [162], Tabgha [143].

approaches between the entry to the site and the *bema* area. Each of these may be used singly or in combination to effect, to strengthen and reinforce degrees of enclosure upon the chancel area that progressively 'seal off' the area from prying eyes.

The stepped *bema* is a relatively permeable boundary visually wide open to observers. We also find that passage into the chancel area may be blocked, but left visually open by the addition of a half-height screen. We are thus able to add 24 more sites which have both a *bema* and chancel screen (13.29%). Thus, in total, nearly 40% of the sample (39.88%) used a permanent architectural structure (whether the *bema*, the chancel screen or both) which permits observation of the liturgical area (thus permeable)¹⁰⁹. The combination of *bema*, steps and screen is used as often as the *bema* alone¹¹⁰. More emphatic, as a barrier, is the enclosure of the *bema* area with

¹⁰⁹ The reconstruction of Ma'on [044] is somewhat unusual in this respect since Levy (1960:15) cites the appearance of a sunken area in front of the *bema*, resting .09m below the floor level of the nave, effectively making the *bema* appear higher than it actually was and perhaps making the separation from the nave clearer than ever. There are four post holes in the floor of this sub-area but no chancel screen fragments have been found. The reconstruction of this site is very controversial (see the Site Bibliography for Ma'on, especially Avi-Yonah, 1960:22, Dunayevsky 1960:23, Hiram 1960:19-21, Baran 1976:779, Levy, 1960:15, Rahmani, 1960:14-18).

¹¹⁰ Of those sites for which there is detailed information, there are only four sites which raise the chancel area by two steps (three of those also use a screen to reinforce the nature of the boundary) and five which raise the platform only one step (only three of which had screen fragments). In these cases, the platform is distinctly a different kind of space than the nave, yet the architecture preserves the sense that these were accessible places. An additional 11 sites report the discovery of a *bema* and screen but provide no usable descriptive information.

full-height, framing walls that follow the chancel as it projects into the nave. This kind of enclosure is found in only two sites¹¹¹ in the sample. There are also seven buildings¹¹² where the barrier consisted only of a screen, without a *bema*. The use of the walled enclosure or the screen, without the use of platform, is usually correlated to a basilical plan, an apse and the extensive construction of an associated exterior building complex. It may be that these relatively unique cult sites existed for use by the sacerdotal population living in such complexes, and ordinary persons did not have access to the nave at all. Thus the community would have felt no need to reiterate the barricades common to more public buildings.

There are remarkably few variations in exclusionary devices. The use of the *bema*, its several terraces and screens are our most familiar barricades. The evident lack of creativity in this aspect may indicate a very stable sense of the vertical and horizontal arrangements of religious space, a security which is reiterated in the overall stability of architectural plan in these cult spaces over the period of four centuries. Certainly the incumbents seemed to have felt no need to re-invent new ways to keep ordinary persons where they belonged, and

These sites are: 'Evron C [167, 168], Shavei Zion [139], Sede Nashum [156], Khirbet en-Nitla C [127], Bir el-Qutt [097], Gaza A [022] Kafr Kama [115,116] Khirbet el-Hadatha [122] Beth Yerah [091]

¹¹¹ Specifically, the second phase of the synagogue at Hammath Teverya A [032] and the basilica at Silo B [142].

¹¹² Ma'oz Hayyim [050], Mukhmas [150], Motza [149], Shavei Zion [140], Tiberias A [163], Susita A [160] and Magen [172]

thus no pressure to re-formulate the carefully prescribed routes of access by which ordinary persons approached divine realms.

4.3.2 Closing Off The Sacred: The Clergy

The physical plant of the site provides us with further clues to the special role apparently played, in these sites, by a religiously qualified elite. There were a variety of architectural devices for selectively closing off the Sacred. We find the use of separate auxiliary facilities for preparation of liturgical activities. The placement of their entrances would suggest that these facilities are accessible for liturgical purposes by a limited number of assigned personnel. To that end also we find special seating in the chancel area, providing places of respite within the most sacred spaces thus allowing its personnel to endure long hours of liturgical performance. With such facilities, clergy could move completely within their own habitats, making it unnecessary to deal with ordinary persons except in specific circumstances. The development of an entirely self-contained architectural complex provided the means for cult staff to become a more esoteric, private community within the larger congregation. These provisions serve to reinforce the separation between clergy and laypersons.

The habit of closing off Sacred spaces is evident in the use of small chambers in the vicinity of the liturgical stage. According to church historians, these were separate areas:

"...set aside for the auxiliary needs of the Mass and the administration of the congregation. The prothesis serves for the preparation of the Eucharist before it is brought to the altar and, as a rule, for its storage after Mass. In the diaconicon, the deacons receive the offerings, keep the archives, the library, the vestments and the church treasure (Krautheimer 1981:99).

Although individual layout and features may vary (Krautheimer, 1981:99), both synagogues and churches were furnished with rooms kept in close proximity to liturgical centre stage. Where they were large enough, *genizim* could have fulfilled much the same function as *pastopheria*. As smaller rooms, these chambers provided space for storage of sacred scrolls, treasured books and ritual objects¹¹³.

In our sample, for most sites, those chambers are square, or rectangular. They are located on either side of the apse, entered from the aisle but within the sanctuary of the chancel and behind the *bema* area (Tsaferis 1976:6). In a few sites (3.47% or 6 sites) auxiliary spaces were designed with their entrances opening directly on to the chancel area rather than through an aisle or indirectly from across the *bema* and within the nave.

In some cases, the rooms are a pair, and large enough to constitute a separate small chapel. In the case of Beth Yerah [092], each room has an apse, repeating in small scale the plan of the large basilica. At Silo [142], 'Evron B [167], and Khirbet en-Nitla A [125] there are single square rooms

¹¹³The synagogue in Fastat (Old Cairo) contained literary treasures and historical documents including texts of *Ben Sira*, the Damascus Covenant, ancient Palestinian, Babylonian and Spanish *piyyutim* and many documents relating to the history of Jews in the Middle East (Wigoder, *Everyman's Judaica* 1975:280)

situated immediately to the left of the apse, and behind the *bema* area.

Although this room is entered from the upper end of the corridor, the chancel area is directly accessible through an opening on the wall into the bema area.

At the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem [113], the room is on the north side of the apse due to the slope in the ground (Ovadia 1970:88). Magen [171] has a pair of chambers consisting of a *diaconicon* on the south side and a *prothesis* on the opposite side of the bema area.

The placement of the *pastophoria* entrances and the rooms' proximity to the chancel area strongly suggest that these chambers were never intended for public use. Rather they are an extension of the chancel, ancillary spaces supportive of the rites being performed on the liturgical stage. These spaces were private to the inner world of the cult staff and the dramatic actors on liturgical centre stage. By virtue of their attachment to sacred rites, these chambers were imbued with qualities only slightly less sacred than the chancel itself. Architecturally, the use of ancillary spaces with restricted access reinforces the perception that certain spaces are more highly valued than others and that those certain spaces are accessible only to the religiously qualified who are themselves attached to liturgical dramas of the most sacred qualities. In such a setting, certain persons are thus set apart from (and perhaps above) the more ordinary, their activities imbued with qualities characteristic of spaces not otherwise accessible by ordinary folk.

4.3.3 Closing Off The Sacred: Bureaucratic Insulation

Not only could clergy confine themselves to sacred precincts, they could simply cloister themselves away from the outside world. These cult sites were entire villages containing working, domestic and living facilities. If these spaces were occupied by cult site staff, and not by ordinary town citizens, then by virtue of their living in a sacrally distinguished place, the staff themselves become persons regularly imbued with special qualities.

The evidence for the separate quality of clergy and other liturgical actors may be seen in the use of benches or *synthronon*, situated on the inside curve of the apse and clearly placed for use within these religiously private spaces. At En Geddi [018], and at Korazin [048] several examples of armed and backed thrones, dubbed the 'Seat of Moses', have been found while *synthronon* were located at Beth Yerah [089, 090], 'Ein Haninya [148], the Justinian phase at Bethlehem [096], the North Church at 'Abde [071] and the South Church at 'Imwas [076]. Although benches in some sites lined the walls of the nave, apparently for the use of the ordinary congregant, these benches in the apse are clearly not intended for ordinary respite. Their location suggests provision for the dramatic actors of the liturgical performance who were members of a selected and religiously qualified elite.

There are asides and references of varying length in the excavation reports which attest to the existence of a 'monastery' complex next to (usually ecclesiastical) basilicas, but more specifically, as in the cathedral at Susita

[159], halls and chambers were added to the square halls and chambers which made up the basilica of the earlier phase. Smaller annexes were found, apparently used for water rites (i.e. the baptistry), at 'Imwas [076]. Chambers were located at the north side of the basilica of the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem [113], the basilica at Beth Yerah [090], and to the Church of St. Anna [106]. Churches at Abde [071], 'Evron B [167] and Ashdod [169] as well as the synagogues at Gus Halav [024], Hammath Teverya A [032], and Hammath Teverya B [030] were each part of a large architectural complex. Although not generally the main focus of the excavators' attentions, these rooms, corridors and annexes add size (and perhaps prestige) to the cult site so that we must properly speak of a cult complex rather than a single hall. Where these facilities have been excavated, they consist of open plazas, storage facilities, dwellings and work rooms. Within the complex itself, these rooms may be isolated from the more public parts of the cult site and may have been open only to designated cult site staff. Frequently extending beyond the limits of excavator's shovels, these sometimes vast and sprawling complexes appear to be accessible primarily from the immediate area of the cult's main building. They are a striking feature and symptomatic of self-sufficiency and the need for support staff on the ancient site. These facilities would have provided working and living space for support staff to the liturgical and other activity carried on in the public cult building around which they clustered.

The isolation of cult site staff from the general living quarters of the surrounding citizenry would have had a number of effects. Where cult staff lived as a large and sprawling household to the cult complex, they introduce within their ranks the possibility for strengthening their own hold on the special knowledge required to properly perform the liturgical actions which give reason to their existence. When that hold is made firm over a period of time, as over generations, the roles in the cult performance and the teaching of its symbolic referents can become routinized and eventually take on the hoary status of tradition. Qualification for and succession to roles in the social hierarchy of the on-site 'priestly' community and its related liturgical performance may, in this setting, become so institutionalized that religious professionals and their staff are, socially speaking, of a separate order, isolated and separate, inherently set apart in a most fundamental sense from the ordinary citizen. The architectural complexes then are instruments symptomatic of religious and social separation between the cult staff and the ordinary congregation they serve. As a vehicle for bureaucratic insulation, the architectural plan secludes the holy places and persons ensconced deep within.

Where the cult community has taken on a self-contained identity, separate from the community, but dependent for survival upon the outer village for supplies and clientele, efforts must have been made to maintain the connections which support the hierarchy. In this scenario, the meeting places between these social categories would have been critical thresholds between

sacred and mundane realms. It is at these points that the articulation between sacred and profane is made explicit, its dangers most apparent. Doorways are thus important metaphorical devices that mark both the edges between realms and the possibility of travel between them. In these sites, doorways and other openings could have been perceived as 'portals' between Sacred and mundane, threshold between profoundly different worlds. In this view, the doorways, corridors and successive realms in the site articulated the architecture of reality in a most profound spiritual sense.

4.3.4 Establishing The Threshold: Embellishment of the Portal

The elements of architecture which most clearly facilitate the continuity between the Sacred and Profane are the entry portals which permit access and egress between various internal parts of the site. In his study of the 'generic' Levantine sacred portal, Bernard Goldman (1966) was particularly interested in synagogue architecture¹¹⁴ but was able to point out that the theme is resonant throughout the ancient world¹¹⁵. Using the "index" site at Beth Alpha (and

¹¹⁴ He subtitled his book **The Sacred Portal: A Primary Symbol in Ancient Judaic Art**.

¹¹⁵ Despite the specific interest, in his work, with things Jewish (although he draws parallels from Christian and Pagan/Classic art), he reminds us that:

It is impossible to discuss religious art without becoming involved in the beliefs and concepts of the culture from which the works sprang and which they express (1966:16)

working from an analysis of the *Akedah* and the zodiac), Goldman discusses the "heavenly" portal, the portal of the dead and the altar¹¹⁶. From his analysis of this Near Eastern iconographical tradition, he argues that the doorway is religiously significant because:

...the portal stands as the ubiquitous symbol of transformation. It is the icon of metamorphosis and revelation. The inviting door holds forth the promise of fateful experience, the moment of rebirth and regeneration. Passage through it speaks of the primary act of generation. On the far side of its threshold lies hope of perfect understanding, transfiguration and eternity, or despair in the grimmer regions of infernal darkness and the non-existence of death. It is to be approached with longing and with dread, for the door leaves open on an unknown which yet holds promise of relief from the unknowable. To pass beneath the lintel is an act of consecration, a symbol of metamorphosis from which there is no turning back...Behind the multiplicity of meanings attributed to the door, the portal remains as the symbol of transformation and translation. It is an image that helps make life liveable because it is the perpetual symbol of hope. And so was it used over and over again in the ancient world. (Goldman, 1966:21-22)

If doorways are thus much more than mere passages, and represent points of cosmic tension and potential, the use of a limited set of different kinds of doorways is noteworthy in our sample. A central doorway flanked by two (usually slightly smaller) doorways (i.e. the 'triple entry' or 'tripartite facade'), is a common phenomenon in many of the sites in our sample (58 sites or 33% of

¹¹⁶ Goldman associates the door motif with 'the personified power of the sun that ebbs and flows in one religious disguise or another through Oriental art history and on into the beginnings of Christian art' (1966:69) and provides a survey of images from Akkadian, Egyptian, Hittite, Phoenician, Persian and Graeco-Roman sources. The image complex includes heavenly pillars (doorposts), sacred trees, and stepped altars, all of which render visible in the cult site "a tabernacle for the sun" (Ps. 19:4-5). He also explores the very early development of the relationship between sacred architecture and the house of the dead (1966:100-124)

the sample). Such a facade usually opened directly on to the nave¹¹⁷. In the triple facade, the central door is usually the larger and more grandly decorated with wooden doors on great hinges. When the central portal is closed off, entry to the hall could be circumvented by entry through the side passageways. The smaller, flanking doors lead more indirectly into the nave via the aisles of the hall and may also provide routes through the colonnaded aisles to other parts of the cult site complex. Side colonnades also demarcate the extent of public liturgical space with rows of columns which divide the narthex, the aisles and sometimes the *bema*, from the nave.

There were many apparently ordinary doorways used to move between rooms and corridors, some used singly and many occurring in sets of three, but we also find 'near-doorways'. These are apses and niches--essentially, metaphorical openings without a means of physical access or egress. Their passage is blocked and apparently leads nowhere but the arch of these apsidal 'doorways' stands at the focal point of liturgical activity. In the same way, the central portal of a tripartite facade was sometimes closed up, in effect, turning that central entryway into a kind of apse. The apse, occurring singly or as part of a triple, was, however, set in much closer proximity than the triple doorways of the facade to the central liturgical stage. Closed to physical movement, the

¹¹⁷ In some cases, the triple portal may be set inside the narthex and thus the threshold is not part of the 'public face' of the site, it may be reiterated in the narthex construction or not. The important factor in the portal's placement is not, the public or aesthetic quality presented by a grand entrance, but the symbolic value inherent in its relationship to the nave.

apse did not permit physical comings and goings through the 'opening' of the arch. The architectural effect of a portal is preserved but the structure is stripped to the barest essentials with the backside of the apse or niche interior clearly blocking any thought of ordinary transfer between the worlds that lie on either side.

The sacred space within the building is thus given its place, that area controlled, and perhaps restricted, but access is not completely proscribed since the congregant can continue to gain entry, at least to the nave, through side passageways and between the columns in the supporting colonnades of the basilica. These routes insure that entry is always possible, at the very least 'by the back door' and perhaps through an intermediary, should the front be barred.

Midway in type between the doorways, elongated into corridors and passageways, and metaphoric 'near-doorways' which are completely blocked off, we find doorways used in off-set series to block the direct line of vision between the various domains within the cult site plan. By off-setting these openings, activity in one room or corridor can be temporarily concealed without being completely sealed off. Persons enter from the street and cross corridors or courts but turn away from their line of entry to use the next doorway, and are led eventually and by an indirect path to the inner courts and to the liturgical centre of the site. The most Sacred aspects of the site are thus hidden without

being closed off completely: A balance is maintained between complete insulation and complete disclosure.

4.4 The Inscriptions: Structure and Transience

We find in the inscriptions a similar structure. The urge to isolate the Sacred is countered by the need to permit some contact with the mundane. From the use of formal titles and other relational terms for the various persons commemorated in inscriptions¹¹⁸, we observe that cult members saw themselves as belonging to three different social spheres, sometimes concurrently but always subservient to a higher divine power¹¹⁹. Thus the active members of the congregation saw themselves as part of the town, i.e. the urban unit, as well as of the congregation associated with the site. More importantly, according to the physical evidence, these townsfolk *cum* members apparently found it necessary to write, or to have written on their behalf,

¹¹⁸ The reader should be aware that in general both the finding and reporting of inscriptions and the consensus on their meaning is overall more likely for synagogues than among churches. In many cases, we know of churches with inscriptions, but these are fragmentary and rarely reported in detail to the extent that we find for synagogues.

¹¹⁹ In addition, there were individuals who by virtue of their piety apparently held, as individuals, a special relationship to the Deity:

mara/saint	Khirbet Susiya [046], Khirbet Umm er-Rus [133], Magen [170]
martyr	Bahan[079], Ein Kerem [099]
pious	Magen [170]

something in the cult site and so to preserve for posterity details about themselves and their relationships to others.

Within the general category of inscriptions, we examine below the frequencies with which names and titles occur in our sample. Some of these titles are recognizable because the same words, like "rabbi" and "priest", are cited in the faith libraries. The inscriptional language may, or may not, mean the same thing as the citations in historical literatures. What we gain here is a much broader portrait of the nature of social classifications, from perceptions of the Deity to community measures of status, the nature of professional roles, and language selection. These communities are connected to a broad range of professions, offices and persons in the urban milieu. We find women and families as well as mosaicists and architects. The faith practised on these sites is a practical rather than a philosophical religion, without reference to a pan-Levantine religious "..ism" of any definition. For this analysis, we use linguistic elements, as do the faith libraries, but the elements are arranged in a different pattern.

4.4.1 Naming One's Place In The Hierarchy

Those who commissioned inscriptions in these cult place saw themselves as citizens of a local town (Beth Alpha [004], En Geddi [019], Huldah [037]) as well as members of the congregation, but the language in some of the inscriptions suggests that members saw themselves as part of one or more

social realms within their congregation. Three phrases are in use to describe collective entities in these cult sites:

Inscriptions: Names for Collective Entities

Phrase	Sites
Holy community: this Holy Place	Beth Shean[010], Jericho [038], Khirbet Susiya [046], Beth Shean[010], Geras[023], Hammath Teverya[029], Na'aran [054]
Israel	Jericho [038], Ramat Aviv [060]

In the case of synagogues (i.e. those sites in the sample having identification numbers of 069 or less), the community and its place were named "holy". In some cases, groups identified with the name "Israel", and thereby designated themselves as an especially chosen people. By so naming themselves, and making that commemoration permanent to the physical plant of the site, these religious communities name themselves in special relationship to divine realms, and in the case of Israel to a specific Deity for whom the relationship is familiar because of its roots in the historical community of faith. The near absence of appeals to the memory of Israel in these synagogues suggests that the historic alliance may not have been as strong as the ancient rabbis would have us believe.

The ancient community, however, apparently used inscriptions to petition for protection, salvation and blessing from God and to claim that favour on the basis of their sacred relationship. The cult building was the focus for such

intent, typically expressed in the variations of the phrase by which the building is named: It is the "gate of heaven" or the "gate of the Lord of Heaven (Khirbet Ammudim [043], Magen [170])". By linking their House of Worship to the "Lord of the Universe" (Jericho [038]) and "King of the World" (Khirbet Susiya [046]), these communities were able to reinforce the subservient but substantive connection of their own human community to a higher divine realm. In synagogue liturgy, this language is monarchical, forming a benediction invoking God as King¹²⁰. The concept is clearly one of importance to the synagogue community. God is not seen as master or teacher here. The Divine is pre-eminently "King".

In churches, the language has some similar "Lord" at Et-Tabgha [145], "Gate of The Lord" at Magen [170] and "place of light" in the baptistry at 'Evron B [167]) but there are more epitaphs which are circumspect and linguistically cryptic:

¹²⁰The concept is preserved in modern synagogue liturgy by phrases like *'lhynu melek h'olam*. From rabbinic tradition, in the **BT Berakhoth** 12a, (*col berakah sh'in bh melek wc.*) a benediction in which the word "king" does not occur is not a benediction. In the plural, references to divine kingship are preserved in the *musaf* of New Years Day as *malkhiyoth*, meaning "kingdom" or "government". **BT Rosh Hashanah** IV,5 and 6, cite biblical verses referring to divine government. Among other references, **BT Rosh Hashanah** 32b. 1b. 12a) and in **Yerushalmi** III58b refer to divine government (Jastrow, 1967:791).

Inscriptions: Cryptic Names for God in Churches

Phrase	Sites
<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Beth Ha-Shita [084,085],
<i>A(lpha) O(mega)</i>	Nazareth [138], Ozem [165]
<i>IH</i> (Jesus)	Nazareth [138], Ozem [165]
<i>A(lpha)</i>	Roglit [154]
<i>Ichthys</i>	Bethlehem [095], Susita [162].

Invocations are directed to the Divine as well as to revered persons, particularly saints including St. Cyricus, St. Thecla and St. Theodore. In these cases, it might be argued that the Deity is even more remote or distant, but in both synagogues and churches, the relationship is an hierarchy of power and authority.

Along with the corporate entities of the congregation and the community, named and unnamed individuals placed themselves in a relationship of dependency and obligation to a superior and protective God referred to by a variety of names and epitaphs. The language is one of non-specific appeal. Thus we find the following formulae:

Inscriptions: Appeals To God

Phrase	Sites
God help us!	Beth Shean [013], Caesarea[016], Suhmata [158]
In fulfilment of a vow	Caesarea [016], Hammath Teverya[029]
To fulfil a commandment	Hammath Teverya [029]
For salvation	Gaza [022], Ramat Aviv [060]
For blessing	Gus Halav [025], Hanita [102], Khirbet Susiya [046]
For peace	Beth Shean [010], En Geddi [019], Gader [026], Khirbet Susiya [046], Na'aran [054], Rehov [063]
Amen	Gader[026], Geras [023], Hammath Teverya [029], Jessud Hammalle [040], Na'aran [054]

There is no explicit reference to that which holds the Deity to a formerly-given promise and no explicit appeal to a written authority through which one could in some way obligate the Deity. There is merely the uninscribed expectation of a response. Petitioners apparently expected that their appeals would have had an effect and they record no specifics as to how they expected that to occur, beyond 'blessing' and 'remembrance for good'. Although obligation in some form may have rested on the part of the individual person, particularly one who fulfils a vow or a commandment as at Caesarea [016], the divinities of these Houses of Worship appear to be free from such obligations. Thus a dependent rather than contractual relationship between the divine and human persons is

reiterated through many of these cult places in the formulas of appeal by which persons and communities seek divine blessing, salvation, protection and peace.

4.4.2 The Cult Community: Status and Structure

From the inscriptions, it would appear that the social universe of the cult community is anchored to this vertical hierarchy between divine and human worlds through individual, familial and professional relationships. There are persons who are remembered anonymously, or by their name alone, proving that their connections to the congregation did not depend only on establishing a familial or professional tie. However, many named persons were described as brothers (no mention of sisters) and sons. More rarely, we find daughters, wives and children:

Inscriptions: Names For Family Members

Phrase	Sites
brothers	Bahan [079], Beth Shean [009], Khirbet Ammudim [048]
son/son of	Bar'am A [004], Beth Alpha [006], beth Se'arim [007], Caesarea [016], En Geddi [019], Esthemoa [020], Gader [026], Gaza [022], Geras [023], Kefar Nahum [042], Khirbet Susiya [046], Korazim [048], Meron [053](?), Na'aran [054], Ramat Aviv [060]
daughter of	Caesarea [016], Na'aran [054]
wife of...	'Isfiya [001], Na'aran [054]

children of...	Jericho [038], Kefar Nahum [042], Magen [170], Ramat Aviv [060]
relatives/ families	Jericho [038]

Familial boundaries as they are re-constructed from these cult inscriptions do not commonly range beyond the nuclear core, although one inscription does recall otherwise undefined 'relatives.' Thus the important relations commemorated in the cult environment are the immediate family and even more commonly, the direct patriarchal ancestral relationship. Aunts, cousins and other more far-flung members of the family tree are not found in the inscriptions. However, we do find a consistent application of ancestral identification through the patriarchal line¹²¹. The family is reduced to a very few of its most critical elements, and is represented as a group having small membership and perhaps a patriarchal umbilical cord, but without other elaboration or extensions, in the cult community.

In addition to the family, members of the cult congregation also identified themselves according to various professional roles. These titles have the most extensive vocabulary in the categories of relationship in these inscriptions, much more so than is found for families. It would appear that having professional status was something to be celebrated, commemorated and valued and, most critically, about which to be explicit and precise:

¹²¹ In these cases, the patriarch may also have been the familial link to divine realms.

Inscriptions: Names for Professional Members

Profession	Sites
priest	Bahan[079], Esthemoa [020], 'Evron A[166], Hanita [102], Kefar Truman [118], Khirbet Susiya [046], Magen [170], Maresha [135], Na'aran [054],
levite	Bar'am A[004], Bader[026]
pupils of the priest (named)	Beth Guvrin[083]
pupils of the patriarch (named)	Hammath Teverya [029]
rabbi	Beth Alpha[006], Beth Se'arim[007], En Geddi[019], 'Isfiya [001], Jessud Hammalle [040], Khirbat Susiya [046]
abbot	Kefar Truman [118]
bishop	Kafr Kama [116], Magen [170], Maresha [135]
master/teacher /scholar	Khirbet Susiya [046]
<i>hazan</i> /teacher	En Geddi [019], Khirbet Ammudim [043]
monk	Ozem [165]
hermit	Ozem [165]

Among these roles are titles of professions historically associated with learning and leadership of ancient religious communities: rabbi, priest, levite, abbot, bishop, monk, teacher/scholar and their pupils. However, they are not the only leaders of the community. Also evident are administrative offices both from the

cult social organization (*archisynagogos*¹²², abbot, manager) and occasionally from within the liturgy (*anagnostes*/reader, deacon).

Inscriptions: Names for Liturgical Officers

Office	Sites
church officials	Kafr Kama [116]
administrator/ archisynagogos/ manager	Beth Se'arim[007], Caesarea [016], Na'aran [054]
'founders'	Huldah [037]
reader/ <i>anagnostes</i>	Magen [170]
deacon	Mishmar Ha'Emek [137]
priestly courses	Caesarea [015]

There are proportionately fewer of these cultic offices, and fewer sites giving mention to each of the titles. The persons so designated may or may not have had the same roles as their counterparts in the textual sources, but the near

¹²² (Gk.) The term is found in inscriptions in the catacombs at Beth She'arim (Vol II inscriptions #212, 164, 203) and Corinth, and in the Book of Acts 18:8. Eusebius of Caesarea (*Ecclesiastical History* 7.10.4) refers to Dionysias, Bishop of Alexandria and pupil of Origin with this term (For a full discussion of occurrences of this term in Palestinian inscriptions and ancient literature, see Horsley 1981, Vol 4:213-220). See also Frey 1952 *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* Vol I:718, Vol II:1414, Lifshitz 1967 #66, #74, #79 and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 1976/7, Vol. 26:1687. For general background, see further Broton 1982 and Schurer II:434,436.

silence in the inscriptions about these offices, leaves much room for speculation about how important they really were.

There are more names for persons holding office in the community beyond the cult site, for example *kyros/kyris/kyra* (on this subject see G. Orfali, *Antonianum*, 1926:401ff, E.L. Sukenik, 1934:76ff, Klein, 1967:272), bishop, commander and *comes*. There are also tradesmen, specialists having specific responsibilities in the construction and or design of the physical plant of the cult building: architects, artisans, mosaicists. Thus we find these references at the following sites:

Inscriptions: Names of Civic Officials

Officers	Sites
<i>Kyros/Kyris/Kyra</i>	Beth Guvrin [083], Beth Shean B [009], Gader [026]
architect	Bar'am A [004]
artisan	Beth Alpha [006], Beth Shean [010, 013]
mosaicist	'Evron [166]
commander	Kafr Kama [116]
comes	Gader [026], Ramat Aviv [060]
officials	Beth Se'arim [007]
Patricius	Caesarea [016]
consul	Caesarea [016]
office of....	Nabratein [056]

These are community-based leadership roles, rather than the participatory in, or directly identified with, liturgical activities. Thus we find a variety of officers and officials in the ancient cult places. The persons who wielded power were not exclusively rabbis or priests and their liturgical designates. We have here echoes of a much broader power base in the community. Here, professional persons and community leaders apparently found it important to identify themselves as such even within the cult environment. Such declarations may have served to strengthen the ties which bound relationships within the cult community to the village at large rather than internally to cult staff, i.e. rabbinic or ecclesiastically-dominated liturgical activity.

The wide vocabulary for officers and professionals is evidence that the cult community, or at least the ones who commissioned the inscriptions, felt a strong need to identify themselves carefully and precisely, in a cult context, with respect to their wider professional identity. The extensive vocabulary also suggests that there was a strong concern, in this social environment, for the careful definition and preservation of familial, (and more importantly) professional roles and statuses and the persons who inhabited them. The social structure in which such care would have been necessary and nurtured, would have been one as carefully structured as we have found the architectural plan to be. As valued members of community leadership, people with professional qualifications named themselves as a means to solidify social standing.

4.4.3 Donations: Reinforcing Social Standing

In those cases where we have some knowledge both of the donor and of the donation, the professional members of the community prove to have been particularly generous with money. Community officials, priests, levites and those bearing the honorific of 'Kyrīs' provided large denomination coins, i.e. a *tremissis* or several *denarii*¹²³ (Beth Se'arim [009], Esthemoa [020], Gader [026]). There are fewer named, untitled persons who are specified as donors of money. In some cases, though, such persons would likely have been part of the collective group and thus were among "all who gave" money or other gifts to the House of Worship, as at Ma'on [049], Beth Se'arim [010], 'Isfiya [001], Jericho [038] and Na'aran [054].

Professionals were particularly active in giving funds for architectural enhancement of the cult building on a few sites. Thus we meet the following persons:

¹²³ In Imperial times, the *denarius* was the official money of account all over the Roman world, all forms of money were brought into approximate relationship to the *denarius* and always to their disadvantage. Diocletian (285-305 C.E.) fixed the value of silver and gold coins after their value was reduced by a dilution of base metals in the earlier Empire. Between Constantine I (324-337 C.E.) and Theodosius (378-395 C.E.), the value of those metals increased. (G.F. Hill, **Ancient Greek and Roman Coins**, Argonaut Publishers, Chicago 1964:73). Attempts to compare the relative value of these metals to today's standards are generally unsatisfactory. In an earlier period, A *denarius*, usually translated as a 'penny', is described in Matt. 20:2,10 as equal to a day's pay for an ordinary labourer. A *tremissis* is a coin equal to the value of 1/3 of a gold denarius. **Compact Bible Dictionary, 1967:374.**

Inscriptions: Named Professionals

Name and Title	Sites
Jose the Levite	Baram A [004]
Obodianus the Priest	Beth Guvrin [083]
Pinhas the Priest	Na'aran [054]
Kyrios Leontis Kloubas	Beth Shean B [009]
Beryllus Archisynagogos/Manager	Caesarea [016]
Rabbi Yosa son of Hilfi	En Geddi [019]
Menahem & Yeshua Wood Merchants	Gaza A [0220]
Rabbi Mathia	Jessud Hammalle [040]
Isi the Priest	Khirbet Susiya [046]
Rabbi Yochanan	Khirbet Susiya [046]

These donors were professionals associated with special knowledge of religious learning as well as the activities of the cult. Slightly more than half of the sites (9 of 15 sites)¹²⁴ which received gifts designated for architectural features, received them from professionals while untitled persons and the community at large provided the balance. There are fewer donations from untitled persons giving the same kind of high quality gifts as those donated by professionals (funds for mosaics, columns, lintels, screens, etc.). Titled persons may well have been under more compulsion to donate (whether from philanthropic impulse or social coercion). In any case, their wealth probably placed them in a

¹²⁴ All but one of these sites are synagogues: Caesarea [016], Beth She'an B [010], En Geddi [019], Gader [016], Gus Halav B [025], Hammath Teverya B [029], Hanita [102], 'Isfiya [001], Jericho [035], Kefar Nahum [042], Khirbet Ammudim [048], Khirbet Susiya [046], Ma'on [049], Mishmar Ha 'emek [137], Na'aran [054].

position to make sizable donations. Such professionals were apparently able to provide, individually, large expensive donations which merited special commemoration¹²⁵.

The inscribed, formal use of a variety of carefully defined professional titles contrasts sharply with the limited vocabulary which rendered familial relationships. Professional titles were, apparently, a successful means to reiterate and reinforce status thus elevating the qualified individual above the general community on a scale independent of relations in the immediate family. Titles identified the incumbent as having professional qualifications unique among the general members of the community, thus stating clearly that they, as professionals, were more important in the nature of things, holding the means to higher rungs in the social and religious ladder. They were able, by naming their place in the social and religious hierarchy, to designate themselves as vitally different from the ordinary folk in both the community and the congregation.

¹²⁵Donations were made "in memory of" someone, or on behalf of someone beloved. The language is generally explicit so that we can differentiate between donations made directly and those made on behalf some religious *virtuosi* (compare Beth Guvrin [083], Beth Shean [009], Caesarea [016], Gadar [026], En Geddi [019], Kokav Ha Yarden [047] Magen [170], Mishmar Ha'Emek [137]). There is no indication from the language that a lay person would gain more merit by making a donation in the name of some *virtuosi*. In this sample we find 3 priests, 3 rabbis and 1 levite but religious professionals were not the only "donors". Among our named professionals we also have a *kloubas*, an *archisynagogos* and a partnership of wood merchants.

4.4.4 Language Selection and The Social Hierarchy

The further reiteration of the hierarchical social structure is evident in the language used for the site as a corporate representation. The vocabulary which defines the congregational entity is of a limited nature, contrasting sharply with the range of options available to professionals as individuals. The collectives, such as 'people of the town' are occasionally commemorated; certainly we find them much less frequently than individuals, whether titled and untitled donors. Only occasionally do the inscriptions differentiate between the 'people of the town' and the cult community or the 'Holy Congregation.' The collective sense, then, is local and community based. Belonging to one's village and participating in cultic congregational activity were not sources of dispute or tension¹²⁶. Collective donation, by persons titled and untitled, apparently was a normal factor in the support of the cult.

However, the inscriptional content is representative of a society wherein personal social position cannot be taken for granted, where reiteration of individual familial and professional status is an essential element in the donative pattern. This pattern can be further explicated when the use each of the three

¹²⁶Unusual in this regard is the inscription at En Geddi [019] which warns: "...anyone causing a controversy between a man and his friend, and whoever slanders his friend before the Gentiles, or whoever steals the property of his friend, or whoever reveals the secret of the town to the Gentiles will feel the wrath of God and be uprooted" (Chiat 1982:219-224).

The reference to the Gentile is also unusual for this corpus of inscriptions.

dominant languages is correlated to the professional and familial titles used in the inscriptions. Titles referring to cult liturgical and leadership roles (officials, managers and administrators, founders, reader, deacon, etc.) are almost always Greek rather than either of Hebrew or Aramaic. Community leadership titles, such as 'commander', '*Comes*', '*Patricius*', *Consul* and unspecified office holders and officials are also most likely to be Greek. Hebrew and Aramaic are more often used to refer to the trades of architect, artisan or mosaicist. Familial identifiers are found in all three languages but Aramaic, more than any of the others, can be correlated to the use of "son of..." as an ancestral familial referent. Other family members (e.g. daughter of..., brother of..., children of...) are more common in sites using both Greek and Aramaic. The only other family referent for sites having Hebrew inscriptions is that of "wife". The beginnings of a cult community structured along linguistic and professional grounds can thus be drawn.

Liturgical activity, and thus its leadership, as well as community leadership may have operated in Greek while some of the artisans and traders appear to have functioned in Hebrew and Aramaic. Among those who chose Aramaic for their inscriptions, familial referents were particularly important. While some professional roles can be correlated to language (i.e. *hazan*, teacher/scholar to Hebrew and Aramaic sites; bishop, monk, abbot, hermit to sites using Greek), other professional titles are found in sites using all three languages: priest, levite, pupils of... and rabbi. All appear to have been part of

cult life in each of the three primary linguistic communities represented in the sample.

Furthermore, individual linguistic communities, despite their professional associations, appear not to have an exclusive confessional referent. That is, there is no pattern, in the inscriptions, of linguistic exclusivity that decisively correlates any one of these language to either of the two confessional identities which are under discussion in this research. In both churches and synagogues we find Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions. Among synagogues, we are as likely to find Greek as we do Aramaic, although the sample, overall, shows more frequent use of Greek than Aramaic.

Overall Hebrew is less likely an occurrence than either of the other two more common languages of the time. Complicating the issue is the fact that Hebrew has been used as a diagnostic marker for synagogues, but there are churches which have Hebrew inscriptions ('Evron [166], Khirbet Umm er-Rus [133]). We are as likely to find only Greek used in churches as we find only Hebrew in synagogues, suggesting a tendency toward unilingual Greek in some churches and unilingual Hebrew in some synagogues, but it goes beyond the evidence to argue for linguistic exclusivity in the confessional community as a whole¹²⁷. Indeed, the use of multi-lingual inscriptions containing two or more

¹²⁷ It may be that the choice of Hebrew in otherwise multilingual congregations may arise from some specific function, i.e. Hebrew co-existing as a liturgical language with the more common conversational tongues of Greek and Aramaic. Therefore an inscription in Hebrew may also be a symbol of liturgical intent, apart from being merely a vehicle to communicate the contents of the inscription.

of these three languages is fairly common. Thus, the linguistic patterns of inscriptions tell us that both synagogues and church populations used all three languages and their scripts.

4.4.5 Incorporating the Revered Dead

In this world where persons belong to local communities and where, within that community, individuals established their social place by means of professional and familial connections, and gained social advantage by qualification through education and birthright. These several hierarchies were not confined to the mundane world of the living, nor did personal connections end with one's last breath. Rather, the social universe of these cult buildings included, in its human and divine worlds, the living as well as the dead. These congregants shared a religious environment where the dead are neither absent, nor quiet but in fact are closer to divine realms than living souls and are thus available targets for petition in the event of need (Lightstone 1984, Brown 1971, 1981).

Among some of these sites we find the names and graves of such persons. Those inscriptional and artifactual data which associate the dead with public cult sites are of three types. Most familiar to us are those inscribed names of persons which have been, over the course of church history, canonized as saints (Theodore, Stephen, Lazarus, Thecla, Cyricus, etc.) while others were respected but otherwise commemorated as ordinary persons.

Saintly persons are found in inscriptions at Khirbet Umm er-Rus [132,133], Khirbet Hubeila [128] and Abde [070,071], Kafr Kama [116], Nazareth [138] and 'Agur [146] all of which are churches¹²⁸. At Tabgha [145], to the left of the 'high altar', an inscription is commended "to the memory and repose of the sponsor, the holy Patriarch Martyr" (Pixner 1985:201). More frequently, the burials are unnamed and uninscribed.

While 23 sites (13%) have a grave of some kind, only 5.2% of sites have inscriptions accompanying those graves. This constitutes pretty scarce evidence for a "cult of (revered) dead" in these synagogues and churches, numbers which counter somewhat Brown's assertion that:

...Even when confined to their proper places, the areas of the dead, normative public worship and the tombs of the dead were made to coincide in a manner and with a frequency for which the pagan and Jewish imagination had made little provision. (Brown, 1981:5)

Evidently, some of these populations felt no need to include the dead among their membership, much less commemorate them by inscription. It may be that the dead were more closely associated with civic life, and thus the necropolis, than explicitly with cult and religious life so that the graves were only included there incidentally. As long as the dead are in the general vicinity, they are available.

¹²⁸In some cases, as at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre [109], the association with revered persons is carried by the weight of tradition rather than by inscription or other direct evidence.

There is, for some sites, a general association between some cult buildings (*martyria*) and nearby urban necropolis, but the cult site sometimes served as a form of tomb for special persons¹²⁹. Aside from the inscriptions, actual burials are evidenced by tombs and tombstones found within the cult site itself, usually in the immediate vicinity of the bema or in a side aisle¹³⁰. In some of these cases, the chancel or nave were places to deposit secondary burials, often in the form of a small ossuary or reliquary¹³¹. In other cases, the burial is outside the main hall, but still in the immediate vicinity leading to an unmistakable, but not central, association between the cult building and the grave(s).

In some of the larger towns, there are large catacombs and we find cult buildings which have been associated with the necropolis at Beth Se'arim [007],008], Beth Shean [086]. Maresha [135] and Bethlehem [095]. It has been argued (Lightstone, 1981, Brown 1971, 1981) that burials and post mortem commemorations were a means to reinforce the relationship between ordinary and sacred space, and to maintain the conduit between ordinary realms and the

¹²⁹ For an excellent treatment of a Middle Byzantine Tomb, but later than our period, and outside our area, see the beautifully illustrated study by Connor (1991) of art and miracles according to the ornate crypt of "Holy Luke", 10th century founder of the monastery at Hosios Loukas, near Athens, Greece. Citations lead the reader to discussions of the rituals of death in the Middle Byzantine period.

¹³⁰ Abde, S. Church [070], Khirbet Hubeila [128], Tabgha [145], Ruhama [155], and in Jerusalem at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre [109], Sede Nashum [156], Bir el-Qutt [097] Beit Jimal [080].

¹³¹ Agur [146], Beth Yerah [089,090], Kafr Kama [116], and Ein Haninya [148]

realms of divine habitation. The maintenance of a large and elaborate necropolis was not always associated with cult buildings. However, in the cases where we do find burials on cult sites, the intermediary placement of the cult site (and personnel) in the cosmic hierarchy is clear. By placing the dead in, or immediately near to, the cult site, these people brought the dead into the same religious and social hierarchy which governs the cult site, or inversely, brought the cult site clearly into the larger cosmic hierarchy traversed by the dead, and other experts. This action drew the dead into place among the living of the congregation, but not in any overwhelming sense that might be associated with a "cult of the dead". By being buried within or near by the cult, these dead are joined to those titled, religiously qualified professionals able to reach closer to divine spheres and thereby able to intercede there on behalf of ordinary persons. Both the donors and the dead were part of the emergence of a class of entitled, distinct and uniquely qualified persons who set themselves apart from the general congregation.

Whether dead or living, the congregation and its leadership form a structured, ordered social hierarchy that stretches between sacred and mundane worlds. That "breach and the passage", according to Eliade, constitute "the very essence of religious life." Each place and the designated persons which occupy or pass through the various spaces on the cult site are set in a consistent arrangement of terraces, chambers and the openings and corridors between them. Disclosure of sacred things and participation in

liturgical ceremony is permitted but only by route of knowledgeable professionals and their designates. The inscriptions provide information that the hierarchy extends to the social relationships on the cult site, revealing differences according to individual, professional and familial ties. Religiously qualified professionals who inhabited the cult site facilities, and their related dead, provided a stable base for a self-contained, sacerdotal community which could, in time, build its own internal hierarchy within the intermediary space between ordinary congregants and their deities.

4.5 Common and Uncommon Knowledge: Art and Symbol

Although the role of intermediary between sacred and mundane universes is most familiar to us in the role of respected and revered persons (i.e. 'holy men', shamans, or healers), the same perspective may be taken to things and places. If the sites in our sample were regarded in this fashion, then the portals and other spaces of the site intervening between the street and the inner chancel are phenomenological thresholds and symbolic spaces carrying strong ritual significance. Arnold van Gennep argued, in *The Rites of Passage* (1909), that ritual time is organized into successive and distinct moments of separation, margin and aggregation. Turner's work (1964:4-20) concentrated on the time sequencing and marginal properties of initiation rites. In his study of life-cycle rites, some times and places are different than others. These significant times possess powerful qualities and potential that is different from ordinary day to day life.

Passages across these times and spaces are periods of extreme spiritual instability and potential danger.

In our model, architectural spaces have both horizontal and vertical qualities. Movement can occur across courts, chambers and through corridors, as well as up and down staircases and platforms. Portals and corridors are thresholds which mark the spaces "between" more stable areas of the liturgical landscape. Likewise, steps and platforms integrate a vertical topography up and down the hierarchy of relationships between mundane and sacred domains. Viewed as "liminal" (Turner, 1979:234-243), these portals exist as moments between categories in sacred time and space. In the **Sacred And The Profane**, Eliade argued that for religious societies, there are "interruptions" and "breaks" in sacred time and space (1959:20). The sense of order which preserves the arrangements of these special times and places "founds" the religious and social world and provides stability in the shared sense of cosmic reality (Eliade 1959:22, Berger, 1969:3-28, Geertz 1973:87-125).

However, in this construction, there are unstable, chaotic and dangerous moments. At the interstices of the ordered cosmos, chaos leaks in. Liminal time is unstable and risky. Liminal spaces are spiritually dangerous. Both Turner and Eliade have brought into focus the ambiguity of portals or transitions between different times and places in the cosmic landscape:

The threshold is the limit, the boundary, the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds---and at the same time the paradoxical place where those worlds communicate, where passage from the profane to the sacred world becomes possible...The threshold, the

door shows the solution of continuity in space immediately and concretely; hence their great religious importance for they are symbols and at the same time vehicles of passage from one space to another (Eliade 1959:25).

These passages bring the spiritual dangers associated with liminal space and time into the social equation, unleashing their power to disorder categories and destabilize the order of the universe.

Danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is undefinable....Not only is transition itself dangerous but also the rites of transition are the most dangerous phase of the rites (Douglas, 1966:96)

According to Douglas, Van Gennep saw society as a house with rooms and corridors in which the passage from one to another is dangerous. In this powerful metaphor, various spaces within the cult buildings, along with their associated persons, are representative of liminal spaces which exist between the realms of the divine and the ordinary life of human activity.

The crossing points between corridors and among rooms in these sacred houses define explicit points of transition and movement through the religious landscape. The movement may be sideways, between sacral categories of equal value and similar properties, or persons may employ vertical movement in an hierarchical universe. In both cases, movement is subject to designated thresholds through which crossings can be safely made. Those points of crossing, whether in horizontal or vertical planes, were metaphoric thresholds between states of existence. Crossing may mean shedding one set of identities for another, or

leaving one set of dangers only to encounter another. On these sites, such breaches are decorated with a profuse collection of images and inscriptions.

In these ancient cult buildings, boundaries and the openings through them in the form of niches, doorways and windows, represent a rich palette upon which a wide variety of artistic images are represented. The variety in that display may be rich but it is not infinite. Although the individual referents may be many and varied, these images have in common a strong symbolic role:

Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between [each of] the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial. As such their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. (Turner, 1969:95)

The variety in both the vocabulary and syntax of cult art is strong evidence for rich symbolic meaning and a multitude of possible referents, but multitudinous does not mean infinite. However elaborate the vocabulary, limitations on this variety suggests that meaning resides here. We can locate a finite list of motifs, a finiteness which supports the view that cult site communities found an established symbolic vocabulary and syntax in this art.

The difference between symbol and decoration, here, lies in the levels of perception and knowledge of the viewer. That which was aesthetically pleasing to the outsider may have been, on an increasing scale, instructive to the accolade and imbued with power to the adept. That power may have included knowledge of safe ways through tyrannous obstacles encountered while in search of the secrets of heaven. That power is resonant in the symbol but hidden in code from

those who are less than expert and therefore unable to safely and effectively make use of it. Symbolic knowledge is thus both revealed and kept secret at the same time. The plan of the site is ostensibly open although places of transition are highly controlled. The most secret places in these sites include the rooms of the building, especially where restrictions on the inner chambers would heighten the mystery of such places. Secret and sacred knowledge is also found, in the abstract, among the secret disciplines and arcane knowledge which were acted out in each of these rooms. What we find in the physical plant of the site are deliberately obscured, ambiguous keys to that knowledge. We find, on critical thresholds, many decorative motifs which hint at powerful secrets. Such things were exposed and transmitted only by those who had the authority, by insight and knowledge and appropriate training, to explore those domains. Thus, the extent to which any ordinary persons could penetrate the most sacred precincts depended on the degree to which they had been exposed, progressively, to ever more risk-laden levels of religious knowledge.

When knowledge of "the Gate of Heaven" is shared only among special interest groups, or is contained among a learned elite who seek to wield social power, these aspiring leaderships needed to validate their claim by connecting themselves both to the larger cult community and to other social enclaves. The ambiguity of art motifs on cult sites represent an ideal forum for the layered and

concurrent expression in visual language of group identifiers¹³². The image might mean one thing to the lay community but it would also resonate to other specialized audiences through multiple referents found within the terminologies and taxonomies of the elite. Those who were lacking in awareness or had insufficient knowledgeable with respect to some or all aspects of these symbolic features, would be automatically excluded, or "protected", by their ignorance.

Countering openness, then, is the careful regulation of disclosures of secret things; in short, those in leadership could hide their knowledge in convoluted and subtle codes right under the nose of the otherwise ignorant congregant. The holiest of elements of the site could, indeed must, have been signified in any site, but their most dangerous aspects were disguised, to be exposed only to the knowledgeable viewer. Only in the hands of those qualified, and in successive levels of accomplishment, could the increasingly dangerous secrets of these symbols be uncovered.

¹³² See M. Hardin Friederich, "Design Structure & Social Interaction: Archaeological Implications of An Ethnographic Analysis" **American Antiquity** 35:332-43; and by the same author, "The Cognitive Basis of Productivity in a Decorative Art Style: Implications of An Ethnographic Study for Archaeologists' Taxonomies" in **Ethnoarchaeology**, James L. Ebert ed. Columbia University Press, New York, 1979. Also "Stylistic Behaviour and Information Exchange" by Wobst in **For The Director: Research Essays In Honour of James B. Griffin**, C. Clifford, ed., Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan Anthropological Papers #61, 1978 and **Social Archaeology, Beyond Subsistence and Dating**, Charles L. Redman *et als.* Academic Press, New York 1978. See also the relevant discussion in Chapter 2. For a study of systemic cultural patterns based on preference for items of clothing see Roberts, John M., Richard F. Strand and Edwin Burmeiters, "Preferential Pattern Analysis," in **Explorations in Mathematical Anthropology**. ed. Paul Kay., MIT Press, Chicago. 1971.

If this was the case, many things could be 'said' in such systems, but the dialect and clarity of that speech depended entirely on the range of knowledge and perceptual ability of the observer. Whether these images are 'mere decoration' to the ignorant, or immense piyyutic matrices of complex theological import, they add to, and are congruent with, a religious and cultural structure typified by shifting import and changing balances between the revelation or isolation of Sacred places, things and people. There was unity, cohesion and connectedness between the different components which made up Sacred and ordinary terrain for these religious communities but we also find an hierarchical sense of discretion and exclusion which sharply defined the nature, quality and accessibility of spaces, things and persons within the site and the divine courts they symbolized.

4.5.1 Distributing Knowledge Of The Lexicon

The leadership of these religious communities would have been equipped to keep control over the knowledge of secret things if these 'holy things' were hidden, in fact, in plain view. If so, then art motifs on a cult site present a corpus of encoded symbols which can be read at a variety of levels. At face value, they represent a bewildering variety of geometric, floral, faunal and other common images. So read, they represent continuity between the life of the ordinary congregant and the sacred life within the building. These images are congruent with and reinforcing of the sense of continuity between ordinary and sacred realms

which typifies this universe. Their surface meanings are informative and open to even the illiterate and ungifted. These art motifs could well have enabled ordinary souls to learn about divine realms, conceptualize their ideas about the Sacred and find the footsteps of their God in their daily lives. Counterbalancing this informative continuity is the concealment of an entire lexicon of secret signs and their hidden associations which create, in effect, visual encryption. Its adepts would have found, deep within the commonest of images, a most uncommon language kept hidden by apparently simple coincidence and unhinged¹³³ association. Concealed within this apparent simplification, they explored a tightly controlled awareness of secret things which was shared only among the educated elite in their own unique worlds.

It would be obeying a first impulse for us to dive directly into the decoding process and seek immediately to decrypt the codes associated with the use of images on these sites. The success of the ancient elite is apparent to us, still, in that the iconography of these images remains an intriguing source of unanswered questions despite the plethora of possible, plausible and likely interpretations which have been drawn from them. The difficulty has been that we look for a single, specific conceptual structure which would apply in all cases rather than a multitude of possibilities.

¹³³The metaphor is that of a field or garden gate. One who knows how to hang a gate knows how to fit the two pieces that belong together, and by hanging the gate on its hinges, can make the gate swing open at will. Those ignorant about garden gates and hinges find the gate leaning against the posts and blocking the way. The potential to open to gate is found in the knowledge of the adept.

For art forms, there is no one "correct" meaning (Langer 1979:52). Art symbols are arranged in systems which reflect their constituent cultural communities and aid in supporting and validating social experience (Geertz 1973:87-141, Berger 1969:3-52). As with written and spoken verbal systems of communication¹³⁴, an iconographic system operates successfully when it communicates between those who understand the meanings attached to its symbols. For this reason, rabbinic, patristic and other canonical writings represent only part of the range of conceptual structures available in the culture. There may have been many others.

The prevalence of surviving fragments of 'heretical' and mystical literatures¹³⁵ would support the existence of a variety of possible readings. Thus for cult art, against the latter steps in Neusner's programme (1981:9) for the interpretation of synagogue symbols, there is no single, final or authoritative "principle of selection". We are unlikely to find some "key" to an hermeneutical "system as a whole" which might be the final and absolute interpretation of this art.

¹³⁴The literature on this topic is extensive and includes both work in philosophy and anthropology. For introductory remarks on the former, see the discussion beginning in Langer (1982:21) and for the latter, Leach (1976), an anthropologist, provides a very readable beginning.

¹³⁵Any introduction to ecclesiastical or rabbinic history will give account of the "struggle" between orthodoxy and heresy in either tradition. For example, on the history of Christianity see the work by Frend (1984) and for Judaism, the histories of Seltzer (1980) and Cohen (1987). For reference to "unofficial" literatures see D.R. Carlidge and D.L. Dungan, **Documents For The Study Of The Gospels**, Fortress, 1980; also works by G. Scholem (1946) and Blumenthal (1978). For further discussion of the mechanisms, see "Censoring In, Censoring Out" by Hoffman in Gutmann (1981:19-38)

Instead, it is more likely that there were numerous smaller sets of hermeneutic principles having any number of internal sets of vocabularies. Individuals were members of the cultic community which shared a religious world view, but these persons may also have operated at several levels of religious knowledge appropriate to their membership in other social sub-categories. These cliques, or informed elites, would carry their own dialects of symbolic behaviour and knowledge. Participating in these restricted "circles" and in the religious community at large, at the same time, would require their members to operate in multiple roles, a normal characteristic of complex societies. Rather than amorphous confusion, successful individuals and groups, who know under which "hat" they operate at any specific moment, would find symbolic vocabularies and syntax interacting, overlying and speaking concurrently.

In recognition of this possibility, our interpretations do not attempt to "confront the entire corpus" as we seek to sort out the possible senses which may lie hidden in this art. Certainly, no interpretation of either ancient canonical writings or iconographical representations in cult sites, could be said to be historically final, religiously canonical, or otherwise complete or authoritative. This is true especially where advocates succeeded, historically, in making their view absolute by completely undermining or obliterating all other possibilities in the written records. Therefore, our intent here is not to explicate individual or specific interpretational results of ancient cult sites, but to plot out the cosmic geography which all such interpretations might have had in common.

Despite our objection to Neusner's frames of reference (1981:7-8)¹³⁶, his approach has merit and I have adapted his first steps for our treatment of ancient public cult sites. For our purposes, I have re-phrased (in square brackets, below) his confessionally-specific language and shifted the authoritative base of interpretation from an appeal to the rabbinic corpus of writings to the reported archaeological evidence:

First, we have to interpret the restricted symbolic vocabulary of the [cult place] by finding out, as best we can, how these particular items have been chosen out of a much longer list of available forms and representations. Such an exercise in interpretation will begin with a full account of all the symbols which [reports of ancient religious sites] made available. (Neusner, 1981:9)

Continuing in this fashion, but in a trans-confessional mode, we gain very quickly some understanding of at least the "plain meaning" of the iconographic vocabulary which makes up the full repertoire of ancient cult sites. What we know, then, is that on the basis of our sample, the entire motif repertoire is in fact quite limited.

All of the images found in the sites on our sample can be described by only six categories, all of which have several sub-categories. Thus we find these classes and subclasses of images used in ancient art:

¹³⁶Neusner (1981:9) is interested to learn what has and has not been chosen out of the Graeco-Roman vocabulary, which he equates with "paganism" i.e. those forms "not originating in the framework of ancient Judaism".

Images in Ancient Cult Art

Geometric	Creatures
-11 types following Avi-Yonah (1932) and supplemented by Blanchard (1973) leading to 79 discrete and recognizable forms.	-beasts (mammal, marine, amphibious)
	-birds
	-creeping things (reptile/insect)
	-human- text related
	- calendric
Flora	- portrait
-floral	- mythic/composite
-vegetable/plants	Landscape
Frame	- architecture/facade
(combines geometric or vegetable motif with an internal form from another category, either art motif or inscription)	- mountains
	Tools - artifacts.

With the exception of the frame, which represents a combination of two other categories, all of these classes are unambiguous and directly observable in the site data¹³⁷.

Most but not all of these sites are so decorated: we find 138 sites (79.77%) have decoration of some kind¹³⁸. If all of these visual images were capable of conveying meaning (and were therefore employed as signs and symbols, as

¹³⁷ Explicit description within these categories is presented in considerable detail in the attribute list. See Chapter 3, Technical Appendix 3A.

¹³⁸ The reader ought to be aware that due to differences in the extent to which detail was reported, not all sites have contributed equally to the analysis provided below.

defined by Langer 1979:53), then all of these images were signifiers to someone¹³⁹, at some time in this period and somewhere in the area of ancient Palestine. Our sample demonstrates a vocabulary of some 297 individual motif types. Some motifs are used more often than others and may have any number of specific attributes; these latter characteristics may form the basis for yet another, differently structured study which is beyond the immediate reach of our investigation here.

To bring into clearer focus the extent and variation of these motifs, the frequency of some of these iconographic types is examined in more detail below. In the excavation reports, some of the sub-categories have been sufficiently described to warrant individual treatment, i.e. the category of "creatures" in particular has been broken into its constituent parts:

¹³⁹Goodenough's work is an important beginning in this respect. For him, symbols were a problem of interpretation, and could not be simply explained away. Although his extreme view that symbols were always symbolic (and in particular salvific) has not been accepted, his point that "mere ornament" must be promoted to symbolic meaning and that ancient Jews were aware of that meaning in the "cultures" that surrounded them, is an important one. See further, Neusner (1981:8,9).

Art Motifs: Frequency of Motif Types

Type	sites	% of all sites	% dec. sites
Geometric	125	72.25	90.58
Frame	69	39.88	50.00
Flora	57	32.95	41.30
Animals	41	23.70	29.71
Birds	32	18.50	23.18
Tools	31	17.92	22.46
Amphibious	15	8.67	10.87
Marine	12	6.94	8.69
Landscape			
/architecture	11	6.36	7.97
Human/portrait	8	4.62	5.98
Human/calendar	6	3.47	4.35
Reptile/insect	5	2.89	3.62
Human/text ref.	4	2.31	2.90
Mythic/composite	3	1.73	2.17
Landscape/mts	3	1.73	2.17

There is a dramatic fall-off in occurrence once a basic repertoire of forms has been established, namely geometric, the frame device, flora, animals, birds and tools. The remaining motifs occur much less frequently and may constitute a series of esoteric and/or minor elements in the vocabulary of potential symbolic forms in these cult sites. The most popular geometric forms are repetitive patterns containing the intertwined figure of eight, parallel lines, torus, guilloche and, in a myriad of attribute possibilities, interlaced forms such as octagons, frames and squares and 'fishscales' or semi-circles.

The most striking thing about the use of geometric forms is the apparent reliance on highly repetitive, established forms arranged in interconnected mats of design rather than free-form, isolated or discrete images. In the context of the

hypotheses developed above, the profusion of geometric images, which fills even the smallest spaces and borders with many variations to the basic forms, is not necessarily a *horror vacui*.¹⁴⁰ It is an expression of the desire to have all parts of a design, including its borders connected into an whole piece. In terms of design, then, there is as much regulation to the artwork as there is to the religious knowledge base and the hierarchical structure of cult society.

In the same vein, the frame is a common device most often seen as a medallion, a wreath, or a *tabula ansata* which is inhabited by some other motif type or an inscription. Medallions are particularly common (found in 54 sites or 31.21% of the sample¹⁴¹) while wreaths were found less than half as often--found on 24 or 13.87% of the sample. Inhabitants of these frames (30.65% of occurrences) were more likely than uninhabited, blank interiors. The inhabiting inscriptions (17.34% of occurrences) may be in any one of the three languages typically found on these sites. The borders of the frame may take several geometric forms

¹⁴⁰Meaning a fear of empty spaces, and referring to the apparent love of patterns by decorators in the Roman period who consistently covered every surface with a profusion of detail. See further the discussion of the relationships between elements of Palestinian art and the Levantine aesthetic, also the three articles together entitled **Oriental Elements In The Art of Palestine In The Roman and Byzantine Periods**, by M. Avi-Yonah, available in the 1981 repr. **Art In Ancient Palestine** ed. by Katzenstein and Tsafir. pp. 1-117. See also, in the same volume, by Avi-Yonah, the monograph **Oriental Art in Roman Palestine**, originally published by Centro Di Studi Semitici, Istituto Di Studi Del Vicino Oriente, Universita Di Roma, Studi Semitici #5. 1961.

¹⁴¹To permit comparisons throughout the dissertation, I have continued here the practice of making all percentages refer to a percentage of the entire sample unless otherwise specified.

including (occasionally) ovoid, but there appears to be little difference between the occurrence of round (19.65% of occurrences) or rectangular (15.60% of occurrences) frames.

Plant forms were a popular and long-standing element in architectural decoration in the ancient Levant and their selection and use by cult site populations is extensive. The following shows some of the most popular:

Art Motifs: Frequency of Vegetable Motifs

Motif	#sites	% of all sites	% of decorated
trellis/meander	29	16.77	21.01
berry cluster	20	11.56	14.49
date palm	14	8.09	10.14
broad leaves	11	6.36	7.97
citron/ethrog	11	6.36	7.97
pomegranates	10	5.78	7.25
stalk/sprig	10	5.78	7.25
rosette	10	5.78	7.25

Although considerably less in evidence than geometric forms we nevertheless find clearly recognizable floral motifs quite frequently. The tendril and vine is the most common vegetable image with the berry cluster following close behind. Upon considering differences within the class, we find attribute variation nearly as broad as the actual flora of the district. There is, however, as with other motif types, a dramatic fall-off in incidence after one or more primary forms have been cited.

Our attempts to determine the zoological species of animal forms benefits from the greater confidence of the reports, but as in the previous types of motifs, only a few forms predominate:

Art Motifs: Animal Forms

Motif	#sites	% all sites	% of dec. sites
cat/lion	23	13.30	16.67
goat/ram/sheep	14	8.09	10.15
ibex/antelope/gaz	13	7.51	9.42
unspecified	9	5.20	6.52
bullock/bovine	8	4.62	5.80

Noteworthy in this collection is that the most frequent animal is a predator while all the rest (of those which can be identified) are domestic stock or at least prey.

The birds in these ancient sites represent a fairly common motif. There is some difficulty in ascertaining species identity here, but we can present the following frequencies including likely, as well as certain, occurrences.

Art Motifs: Bird Forms

Motif	#sites cert.	#sites uncert	% all sites	% of dec. sites
hen/quail				
dove/partridge	16	6	12.72	15.94
peacock	11	5	9.25	11.59
eagle	9	5	8.09	10.14
heron/crane				
flamingo	6	5	6.36	7.97

In this type, "peaceable" birds are more common than birds of prey. It could be argued that these most popular types also represent typical inhabitants of farm flocks used for both eggs and flesh and would therefore establish even further the continuity between cult and lifestyle for the ordinary congregant. The interesting feature is that we have both domestic and display birds in use in these sites. Eagles as well as peacocks and herons have long been considered the 'showboats' of the bird world and the wealthy have throughout civilization adopted these birds as adornment rather than for functional use. Pointedly, these are not ordinary food stock. Collectively, these birds have a strong aesthetic appeal conducive to celebratory and symbolic interpretation.

The final category which, by frequency, could be called a primary form is that of tools. We know more about the specific attributes of the candlestick or *menorah* (which presents in a variety attributes specific to branches, trunk, base, bar and lamps) than any other form. When the forms associated with synagogue ritual (the lampstand and the horn) are discounted, the most popular forms are the amphora and the basket or pail:

Art Motifs: Tool Forms

Motif	#site	% of sites	% of dec.
lampstand	29	16.76	21.01
amphora/vase/jug	15	8.67	10.87
horn/ <i>shofar</i>	14	8.09	10.14
basket/pail	10	5.78	7.25
incense shovel	10	5.78	7.25

The noteworthy aspect of these motifs is that they are all containers. In some way, shape or form, they act to contain, or carry within, a spillable substance. At the same time, such a container will keep other substances apart from that which is contained. In all cases, they have openings and are not sealed. The containment is incomplete. In a small way, then, they replicate the boundary paradigms typical of the cult site.

The remaining images in the motif vocabulary of these sites are found in relatively few instances and are primarily creatures: They include snakes (4 sites, 2.31%) and scorpions (1 site), amphibious species such as the crocodile and crustacean (each found on 4 sites or 2.31%). Of particular note is the mollusk or conch shell which was incorporated into a number of architectural facades (12 sites or 6.95%). Other marine species included the fish (8 sites or 4.62% and the dolphin (1 site). Among composite species we find the centaur (2 sites), an hybrid (3 sites) and a recognizable deity (1 site). Landscape motifs in the form of architectural facades (11 sites or 6.36%) are more common than hills (2 sites).

Human figures do not stand out as distinct or even popular in this setting. They appear to blend smoothly into their contexts and can without exception be aligned with a number of themes all of which could also be described in an heroic mode:

Art Motifs: Human Forms

Text Related	Calendric	Portrait
Daniel	zodiac or constellation	hero/warrior
Abraham		hunter/prey
Noah	solar/sunrays Helios& <i>quadriga</i>	king/enthroned musician/piper
Odysseus /David	lunar crescent harvest/vintage Dionysiac	orator/robed winged/genii
Jonah	seasons/months	naked

On the basis of the descriptive language of the archaeological reports, human figures appear in our sample to be distinctly and unquestionably related to textual references in only 4 sites in our sample (2.31%). Human figures are found among other calendric devices more often (6 sites, 3.47%) and in some form of portraiture most often (8 sites or 4.62%). Human beings are not, therefore, among the most highly favoured motifs in the cult site repertoire. That may mean that they were uninteresting and therefore not chosen frequently; they may have been more difficult to depict and therefore more expensive in terms of an artisan's

commission, or symbolically they may be so dangerous as to be infrequently chosen. In any case, they have been used in specific contexts rather than random settings. Despite the troubled minds in rabbinic and patristic literatures, their incidence can be ranked along with other created beings.

There are limitations on the motif vocabulary appropriate to cult sites. That vocabulary also varied significantly from region to region. Evidence of coherent and regional motif vocabularies in cult sites was found in a study of motif selection on a slightly different group of 48 synagogue sites (Vale 1984:108-148) using a different frequency ranking as a method. In that study, all the sites which had decorative elements were analyzed for the presence or absence of thirteen primary motif types. These frequencies were then ranked. Pre-determined regional territories were the provincial territories of *Palaestinae Prima* (Judea) and *Palaestinae Secunda* (Galilee). Here, I cite only those motifs who occurred in 10% or better of the sample.

There, among the synagogue sites of *Palaestinae Prima*, in order of precedence, the popular motifs were:

geometric, menorah, floral, frame, vegetable, increments (*shofar*, *lulab*), animal motifs, Torah Shrine, human, fowl.

In *Palaestinae Secunda*, the order shifted to:

geometric, menorah, animal, vegetable, floral, frame, increments, fowl, mythic, human, marine forms.

Thus, in different areas of Palestine, synagogues at least, were choosing some motifs more often than others and those differences do have a regional basis.

In the same study, these 48 synagogue sites were analyzed for site similarity, using geographical territory as the pre-determined regional territory. The technique involved rank order of motif pairs. Although plagued by statistical problems related to the small sample, there were some preliminary conclusions. In the southern regions (Judean Hills, South Coastal Plain), synagogue sites tended to be homogenous and draw on only a limited number of motifs. They were more likely to have motifs in common than were the sites of the northern regions. In the north, sites are more likely to be unique. Thus, in the South Coastal Plain, Judean Hills and the Rift Valley (South), sites show a highly similar iconic vocabulary. Galilee and Golan sites are unique but share a fairly broad vocabulary. From the inscriptions, rabbis appeared to be less involved in the economic support of the synagogue in northern Palestine than they were in the south. *Contra* E. Meyers (1980:106), the art tradition in the northern synagogues is not conservative, but varied, complex and isolationist. Sites are highly dissimilar but use a broad range of motif pairs throughout the region.

In the earlier synagogue art motif study, (Vale, 1984) there were differences in art patterns between Upper and Lower Galilee. In that study, two indices were measured: (1) frequencies of single motifs and (2) motif-pairs held in common between sites. The 1984 study used a somewhat smaller sample of 27 sites found in Lower and Upper Galilee (see Meyers 1976:95 following Josephus) and the

Golan. Ranking of motif-pairs indicated strong evidence for variation of motif selection within the two parts of Galilee. There, we find the same fall-off pattern, dropping quickly from the most popular and primary motifs, that was observed in the much larger sample used throughout this dissertation. The ranked order of motif selection is given below: for motifs occurring in as many as 10% of Galilee synagogue sites.

Upper Galilee (Rift Valley, Northern Galilee)

geometric, menorah, vegetable, frame, floral, animal

Lower Galilee (Rift Valley, West Galilee)

animal, geometric, vegetable, increments, frame, floral, fowl, human, menorah, mythic, marine

Golan (North and East of Kinneret)

geometric, mythic, fowl, animal, frame, menorah, vegetable, marine

Motif selection in Lower Galilee takes liberally from the full menu of motif choices available in the repertoire. Sites are similar enough that synagogues of Lower Galilee could be evidence of a cohesive cultural region. In Upper Galilee and the Golan, the possible motif pairs in common from one site to another drops considerably; from 66 for Lower Galilee to 40 in Upper Galilee and from thence to 14 in the Golan. Sites are not very similar in Upper Galilee and the Golan, i.e. their selection of motifs is highly individual. These results are strong arguments that cult sites had decorative limits for visual forms and that their corresponding symbolic referents need not be directly related to anything we might draw out of rabbinic or patristic literature.

Clearly, the languages and dialects of those forms varied from one area to another. Our most likely points of entry into the ancient maze of reference fields for this art would lie in the frequent reiteration of the most important, or "primary" images and in the recurrent associations among those motifs. These "important" or "primary" or "popular" images would be more likely than any other to resonate from the basic foundations which hold the social and religious network together. In the analyses of architecture and inscriptions, we touched on several foundational themes which can also be located in this art.

For example, we find images of transition are represented in art by the arch, the conch, the niche and architectural facades. Age-old associations of wisdom, knowledge, enlightenment, longevity, growth and fecundity link the image of tree to very common vegetable forms such as wreath, vine, garland, fruit, leaf and flower. These images of religious knowledge are portrayed in the very popular motif cluster of *menorah/tree/light*¹⁴². There are also many forms of the vine scroll, often rooted in an amphora spreading out in a trellis or more freely in the form of a meander. The coherence between religious knowledge, images of

¹⁴² On the *menorah* see "lampstand" and "tree of life" in the **Harper Bible Dictionary**, Harper and Row, 1971. Also "The Chronology Of The Seven Branched *Menorah*" by A. Negev **Eretz Israel** 8:193-210, 1967 (Heb); **The Tabernacle Menorah** by C. Meyers, ASOR Dissertation Series 2. Missoula, Scholars Press, 1976; E.O. James **The Tree of Life: An Archaeological Study**, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1966; Yehudah Ashlag, **An Entrance to the Tree of Life: A Key To The Portals of Jewish Mystery**, Old City Jerusalem, New York Research Centre of *Kabbalah*, 1977; Warren Kenton, **Tree of Life: An Introduction to Kabbalah**, London, Rider, 1972; Yarden, **The Tree of Life: A Study Of The Menorah, The Seven-Branched Lamps**, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1971.

transition and liturgical rites are made explicit when we find the *menorah* used with the tools of horn, incense, shovel or cupboard, architectural facade, as well as the palm branch.

The strong sense of enclosure in the architecture is reiterated in the art by the frame device. A wreath (vegetable) or geometric form is used to confine an internal motif which could be any one of the other motif types. This combination both encloses and reveals connections to other reference fields. Combining these forms with inscriptions makes clear the links to the cognitive facilities of language and writing and to knowledge, which in these cult sites may have been governed by differing levels of religious expertise.

The astrological signs, and especially the zodiac wheel with its celestial signs and seasonal figures represent a complex of possibilities popular in both ancient cult art and our study of it (Kramer 1965, Sonne 1953, Hachili 1977, Avi-Yonah 1976). As a calendric device, the zodiac wheel is an artifact of the wisdom tradition and its knowledge of the celestial arts, both in the Near East as well as in areas much more distant. There may be some connection between the very popular incidence of the zodiac and the consistency of orientation of the architecture, but given the insufficiency of precise information, this remains a future point of study. However, according to the ancient "wise men", movement of celestial bodies governed cosmic time, whose periodization would have been an important reference point for a variety of activities from appropriate ritual performance to agricultural practice.

Yet another associative dimension may be found when we begin to correlate art to the architectural plan of the site. Although the work is very preliminary due to technical failings, which remain in development, we can nevertheless gain a murky glimpse into the world for which art was an important symbolical device. The most popular location of art motifs in the cult site is on the floor. Mosaic pavements are found in 77.57% of the sample, with 23.98% of the sample explicitly reported to be in the nave. These pavements were not hidden and were clearly meant to be seen, and perhaps read, by anyone who entered the nave. In any case, those persons must have directed considerable attention to that which was beneath their feet. Certainly the quality and quantity of mosaic floor decoration has consistently gained the sometimes excited attention of excavators who, prior to the advent of principles of complete and explicit description, may have considered this element to be the only aspect of description worth reporting on the site. In spite of some unevenness in reporting, the focus of much of the mosaic floor decoration is the architectural (although not necessarily the sacred) middle of the site, i.e. the nave:

Art Motifs: Location In The Site

Location of mosaic floor	#sites	% of sample
mosaic (location unknown)	79	45.66
nave	21	12.14
aisles	16	9.25
courts/narthex	14	8.09
other rooms	10	5.78
apse/bema	2	1.16

Where the nave was accessible by the cult population, these frequencies suggest that mosaic floors in general were intended for open view and thus for ordinary persons: the motifs displayed in them spoke a plain value to their viewers. More private locations such as adjacent rooms or the apse were less likely to be adorned with mosaic floors. On the other hand, the nave (and secondarily the aisles and other courts) is the most likely place in the site to be fraught with spiritual danger, because it represents the most likely meeting place between the ordinary congregant and members of the religious elite¹⁴³.

The fact that the images of any form "were not, in themselves, cause for scholastic comment" (Kitzinger 1970:86) suggests that, to the religious elite, and up until the 4th century, the esoteric import of creaturely images in the nave was both scant and safe enough to warrant unconcern. However, Markus (1980:12) comments that:

¹⁴³For further discussion of the associations between art motifs and nave floors, the reader is referred to section 4.5.2.1.

...the third century is a period of increasing imposition of lines of demarcation in doctrinal norms, uniform institutional structures. (Markus 1980:12)

This third century change blossomed in the fourth century and beyond to a full-fledged argument among scholastics and other bureaucrats, preserved in the confessional libraries. They debated the kinds of decorative forms, if any that ought to be permitted in the cult sites they sought to control, creating the perception of an era "striving for complete elimination of doctrinal and institutional diversity." This was in reaction, perhaps, to the popularity of the cults of images and saintly relics during this period. Clearly, the decorative, symbolic, narrative and didactic modes of visual media in the cult site became cause for concern, especially where human images were involved¹⁴⁴.

In this debate, representations of creatures appear to have been a flash-point over strategy among the protagonists who sought to protect lay persons from chaotic sacred forces and the resulting spiritual danger. As we have seen, the most obvious motif clusters in cult art show clear symbolic associations between knowledge, enlightenment and Sacred realms. However, humans are living beings who are capable of using, and abusing, sacred knowledge for their own purposes. Animals, along with humans, are created, living beings and these humans found their images far too creaturely for the comfort of ever vigilant ancient religious

¹⁴⁴Peter Brown, "A Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy", **English Historical Review**, January 1973:1-34; and various other works on the iconoclastic controversy of 717-843 C.E. (for a brief synopsis, see Kitzinger 1979:86-89)

authorities. As living things, animals corresponded closely enough to humans, who feared liminal domains, that their forms could symbolize spiritually dangerous places. We may have, here, artifacts of a struggle to preserve and yet conceal the secrets by which those realms were safely traversed.

In the learned elite's own best interests, these secrets were meant to be filtered through their clerical ranks. The adepts' own credibility depended on their ability to successfully function as the legitimate and effective class of religious intermediaries. These religious elitists may have been faced with the threat that spiritual knowledge was becoming public knowledge and that would have destabilized the entire social structure at the top of which they stood. Thus, aside from self-interest, ecclesiastical and rabbinic elites were seeking to contain a very real spiritual and social danger.

4.5.1.1 Preserving The Code: Allegorical Meanings

In order to maintain the structure of sacred time and space as they saw it, religious authorities would have taken effective steps to preserve it from disruption. The danger associated with revelations about the meaning of symbolic images on cult sites, and the spiritual things they symbolize, could be controlled in part by disassociating or discounting obvious meanings between image and observer. Various parts of a symbol cluster might be fragmented, its pieces spread throughout a seemingly simple artistic design. The power of the cluster is found when those parts are recognized as a unit. Or what may be, in fact, a powerful

image can be said by various devices to be "merely decoration" or even nonsense. Without the knowledge to make sense out of that nonsense, the viewer is effectively prevented from meddling at the cracks in the universe. As visible as these iconic images might be, their real power lies in knowledge of their spiritual associations.

In order for an iconographic image to be a symbol, it must have meaning to someone (Langer 1979:152). The meanings become socially symbolic and sacrally significant when they speak to persons who share, as a group, their special knowledge of those associations. Thus a rose may be both an ordinary flower and referent to something spiritually rose-like, but the latter dimensions of meaning are tools of spiritual power only to those learned in the subject. Multiple layers of this sort were common in the ancient world. Among learned professionals, the structure of language and literature rendered a literal, plain meaning and an allegorical meaning. The writer appealed to the "higher senses" of the educated reader, according to specific hermeneutical principles¹⁴⁵. Allegorical meaning may have had doctrinal, devotional, moral or anagogical¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ The research into the literary use of allegory is extensive. For our period, see R.P.C. Hanson, **Allegory and Event: A Study Of The Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture**, John Knox Press, Richmond, 1959; Jon Whitman, **Allegory: The Dynamics of An Ancient and Medieval Technique**, Harvard University press, Cambridge, 1987; Rollinson, Phillip **Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture**, Duquesne University Press, Harvester Press, 1981.

¹⁴⁶ From the Greek *anogoge*, meaning "leading upwards" and descriptive of the future life. See further, Ferm, 1959:12 and citations there. Also see the citations in the note above.

interpretations, but broad knowledge of the hermeneutic was a prerequisite to understanding the layers of meaning hidden in the allegory.

These multiple hermeneutics, so typical in the ancient world, can apply to iconographical images as well as to allegorical language. Drawing from a lexicon of relatively fixed definitions, knowledgeable interpreters who recognized the rules of syntax could create composite symbols with new meanings. New images were created by combining several icons. Variants in a series of different arrangements and associations may have carried meaning from one iconic cluster to another, adding new twists in meaning during the transition. Alternative images existed for the same meaning; alternative meanings existed for the same images and allusive meanings varied despite a constancy of definition for specific icons in specific contexts.

The highly abstract and apparently chaotic nature of allegoric interpretation is anchored to social reality by its technical requirements. The sense which can be taken from any iconographic use of these images is bound to the particular form which is used (Langer, 1957:260) and knowledge of that symbolic form could be controlled. In the ancient religious setting, knowledge of the spiritual reality behind a symbolic form, the analytical process of interpretation and the techniques for extracting meaning meant religious power and authority. Among the ancient prophets and poets, allegory was a:

...technical form of rhetoric... Applied to the creative process of narration, it meant a chain of metaphors by which an abstract intellectual concept could be made accessible to the concrete imagination. Applied to the analytical process of interpretation, it

meant the technique of extracting the metaphysical notions implicit in a complex of imagery...Allegory stands, as it were, midway between poetry and prose: in its creative aspect it is the poetic rendering of a poetic image. (Hinks, 1968:4)

Because allegory was a technical discipline, it could have been progressively learned in a staged exercise that was ripe ground for indoctrination and control in the schools of the religious elite.

Controlling the direction of religious interpretation is possible because the allegorical rendering of an iconographic image may be untranslatable directly to a discursive sense. There was a need for an interpretive intermediary. On these sites, images may embody self-contained narrative alone, or they may be fragmentary citations of allegorical intentions, explanations or figurative meanings associated with the religious impulse, moral tales, didactic theology or mystical power. Multiple meanings may be derived from a variety of stimuli, including the manner of the symbol's use, its syntactical function and the individual citation of "framework, rhythm, recurrence, rhyme, colour and image" (Langer, 1957:261). Thus, we find ourselves, as did the ancients, faced with the need to interpret the interpretation¹⁴⁷ and for them, whoever held the interpretation with the closest fit to religious experience also held religious power.

¹⁴⁷ For a presentation that integrates archaeological data and the mythographic perspective, see **Myth and Allegory In Ancient Art**, by R.P. Hinks, London, The Warburg Institute 1939, Kraus repr. 1968, esp. pp. 1-20 for the conceptual framework.

These iconographic images may represent only fragments of restricted symbolic codes connecting to an unknown number of specific iconographic systems, languages and dialects. In these ancient hermeneutical systems, syntactical rules and the complex nuances of meanings which arise from the constituent elements in the motif vocabulary represented a ready tool for holding secret knowledge:

The restricted code is used economically to convey information and to sustain a particular social form. It is a system of control as well as a system of communication. Similarly ritual creates solidarity and religious ideas have their punitive implications. (Douglas 1973:79)

Concealment or exposure of religious secrets by means of visual coding systems is thus one instrument of control available to the social power structure of the site. By controlling learning, they controlled and legitimized those who wielded sacred power. By representing ordinary persons at the Gate of Heaven, this religious elite could also bring down the wrath of God on those who refused their authority.

Social control, whether overt or implicit, is evident in this art. Nowhere in cult art do we find anything which could be likened to the free exercise of creative individualism typical of later Western art traditions. The vocabulary and syntax of this art is neither individualistic nor impressionistic, but formal in its motif selection and arrangement. Although the selection is broad and varied, the iconographic vocabulary is finite and its arrangements are reasonably predictable. Despite

some variance, there is a prevalent pattern of use for many of these motifs¹⁴⁸ that suggests the involvement of religious authorities.

For those seeking to hold leadership within an ancient religious community, the ambiguity of art motifs was an exceedingly useful device but it also presented very real dangers to their own position. Icons are good places to hide the keys to spiritual knowledge, but it becomes more difficult to deflate the appeal of those "heretical" individuals who seek heaven by a route not sanctioned by the religious establishment. In times of social difficulty, these prophets become disruptive magnets for the discontent. Some leaders may have been troubled enough about figures, for example, to take more drastic steps and the Iconographic Controversy of the seventh and eighth century shows that there were attempts to remove and thus to silence these iconographic voices.

Faced with the ambiguous nature of sacred iconographic images and the potential for disruptive individual creativity, social cohesion and control could be preserved where the elite's interpretations of religious truth in these motifs also employed public referents, i.e. their plain meaning. By drawing the line there, and then controlling superimposed and successive levels of interpretations according

¹⁴⁸Two of the most popular, the *menorah* and the cross, have been appropriated to a textual context so that they became critical, for iconographic reasons, to historical faith communities who linked them closely to canonical writings. These represent the successful compression of iconographic reference fields, in religious matters, to the permitted languages of confessional traditions. In the hermeneutics of Christian and Jewish literatures, we are provided with historically transmitted iconographic meanings tied to self-evident theological systems of interpretation.

to restricted symbolic codes, the educated elite could employ a complex and rich symbolic code with which to "synthesize the ethos" (Geertz 1973:89) of the congregation around themselves. Within their own membership, they could explore the risk-laden frontiers of that knowledge, but lay persons and disciples would learn only that which was taught to them according to the conceptual framework of the masters¹⁴⁹.

4.5.2.1 Structured Associations for Motifs

Structures may have been pointers to significant concepts implicit in the recurring associations between art motifs. They point to links between elements of the symbolic repertoire. In our evidence there are associations between motif elements, their habitual combinations and the location of those forms in the architectural structure of the site. In the meeting places between architectural spaces, each of which may have been differently valued according to the sacred hierarchy of the site, we find areas having a profusion of iconographic forms. As

¹⁴⁹ To prevent rogues, heretics and upstart prophets from shaking the foundations of the social world, and to protect sanctioned adepts who prowled at the edges of reality, it was necessary to maintain close control over any iconic symbolic code. Where such control was hitched to a written historically transmitted hermeneutic, acceptable meanings could be closely tied to the authority of established religious masters. That authority may have fossilized into fussily academic perpetuity, its doctrines routinized and solidly fixed, but as long as there remained a dynamic connection to ordinary lives among their constituency, authoritative religious adepts were respected on earth, and heard in heaven. They had the best of all worlds.

we have previously seen, decorated mosaic pavements are a likely location for certain kinds of art forms.

Here we examine the type of motif typical of specific media. In mosaic floors which, for 12.14% of our sample, are known to be in the nave, research shows a wide variety of iconographic possibilities:

Art Motifs: Frequencies Of Iconographic Selection In Mosaics

motif	#sites	% of sample	% of sites w/mosaics
geometric	72	41.62	98.63
vegetable	25	14.45	14.45
inscriptions	21	12.14	12.14
tool	19	10.98	10.98
animal	18	10.40	10.40
floral/frame	16	9.25	9.25
lands/archt	5	2.89	7.89
human	4	2.31	2.31

We find on mosaic floors (one of the "threshold" spaces in the cult site), that there is a familiar pattern of selection for a few very popular types of motifs, followed by trailing categories of lesser motifs.

On other "thresholds" and portals, we also find art motifs. The occurrences of decorated architectural elements are shown below along with a breakdown of the art motifs found on them. Where the motif sub-categories are specific in decoration, this detail is also provided. From the chart below, we can see some evidence of a relationship between the kinds of motifs typically used and where they are located on site. As we saw earlier, motifs of geometric, vegetable and

floral origins are very common floor decorations. Since this is true where we know the location of that floor in the plan, we can establish a prediction that the decorative effort on the site was most likely to be expended first on the two-dimensional floor of the nave and then on the three-dimensional doorposts and lintels which framed either doors or windows.

Art Motifs: Iconographic Selection In Cult Site Features

Location (#sites)	Motif	#Sites	Motif	# Sites
nave floor (21)	geometric	21	animal/floral	9
	vegetable	15	human/landscape	4
	tool	10	marine	3
	frame	9	inscription	2
	fowl	9		
doorposts lintels (19) ¹⁵⁰	geometric	15	fowl	6
	vegetable	11	geo/inscript/fl	3
	inscrip	10	animal/human/	
	tools	7	conch	3
aisle floor (16)	geometric	13	veg/frame	2
	geo/veg/floral	2		
court portico floor (12 sites)	geometric	1	tool	1
	frame/ <i>tabula</i>	3	creatures	1
	<i>ansata</i>			
screen (12 sites)	veg/wreath/ivy	6	geometric	4
	tool/amphora	5	floral	3

¹⁵⁰ It is sometimes difficult in fragmentary remains and later as a reader of reports to differentiate between pieces of doors and pieces of windows. These architectural categories were therefore combined in the chart.

decorated walls (11 sites)	insufficient data to establish correlations			
Rooms (9 sites)	geometric	9	inscriptions/geo	3
Capitals (4) ¹⁵¹	geometric	4	tools/lampstand	1
apse/bema floor (3)	geo/interlace geo/veg/ivy/crs	1 1		

These three-dimensional architectural members so decorated represent dangerous transition points for actual persons to move between realms of lesser and greater sacrality. It is in these places that we see the human and animal forms which have left their controversial legacy in the transmitted debates of rabbinic and ecclesiastical authorities. Although these forms did appear occasionally in intermediary spaces other than the nave, i.e. the aisles and narthex, these latter places were typically less often decorated. Adornment of internal wall surfaces, according to an exceedingly limited corpus of fragmentary evidence, is untypical.

These threshold images form a communication system akin to surviving linguistic artifacts. The reader is reminded that gaps in the field reports have left us to explore on the thinnest ice, but nevertheless, we can suggest possibilities and potential for correlations. For example, on both decorated and undecorated

¹⁵¹Standard classical forms, and debased forms thereof, like Corinthian, Ionic, Doric were included with undecorated pieces because they constituted a normal part of the background stock of decorative forms.

sites, inscriptions are located in the same place: the nave, the chancel and the narthex, are the most likely palettes for expression.

Inscriptions: Location In Cult Site Features

Location of Inscription	# Sites in Sample	% of Sample
nave	39	22.54
near altar	10	5.78
narthex	9	5.20
on lintel/door post	7	4.05
pillar	7	4.05
window	3	1.73

Sources for symbolic expression may be contained in inscriptional or iconic forms. Located on doorways and lintels, these are media for marking, protecting and, to the informed, explaining the importance of these thresholds.

Whether via linguistic or iconographic material, then, these cult sites do make extensive use of a selected set of icons at threshold locations. Reading them may involve interpretive exercises as elaborate and involved as that developed for rabbinic discourse or ecclesiastical apologetics¹⁵². In texts, fragments of words and phrases were instruments for the transmission of specialized religious knowledge. The language has an apparent plain meaning but

¹⁵²On the nature of linguistic coded structures in ancient rabbinic literatures, see the treatments of **Mishnah** and **Talmud** by Neusner, Lightstone, Green and others.

is, in fact, restricted code¹⁵³. Although we lack a discursive mode in iconography, we cannot assume that the iconographic mode is any less eloquent.

In the religious literature of the *merkavah*, religious specialists ascend into heavenly realms by means of an ecstatic journey. They recount their journey by the use of allegory which could have had a number of interpretations, depending on the literary framework¹⁵⁴ in which the story is found (Schäfer 1984:28). In these stories, the language was allegorical, its references cryptic and participants in its mysticism were accomplished adepts. In the same way Hebrew liturgical poems known as *piyyutim* became the property of advanced rabbinic scholars who composed elaborate allusions in the *midrashim* of the same period as these art forms were in use. In ancient rabbinic texts, "intellectual subtlety...deductive methods and critical insights..." and in-depth "analysis of talmudic argumentation

¹⁵³ Early rabbinic documents like Tosefta, Mishnah and Talmud are characterized by variations on a limited number of highly structured, formalized rhetorical patterns in unique dialects of Hebrew and Aramaic. Meaning is determined by general rules governing the elements of the rhetorical structure, the relations among those elements and the range of permissible content of any one element (Lightstone 1988:5). Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmud are characterized by an apparent linguistic directness which quickly gives way to labyrinthine complexity. On these merits, their stories and teachings have served as historical records, but also as "books of wisdom" and higher learning to generations of (especially rabbinic) Jews. Nevertheless, to an outsider who seriously approaches these texts with neither a Jewish upbringing nor rabbinic tutoring, the language and syntactical structures are not discourse but code, and a severely restricted code at that. Even with the assistance of recent critical work by Neusner and his students, Mishnah and other rabbinic texts remain obscure, confusing and ultimately closed to those outside the rabbinic ethos.

¹⁵⁴ See for example, Schäfer's study (1984) of the *pardes* narrative in the New Testament (2 Cor. 12:1-14), rabbinic citations (**Tosefta** Hag 2,3-4, **Yerushalmi** Hag 2,1, **Babli** Hag 14-25b) and *Hekhalot* sources.

and *halakhah*" were typical modes of discourse (Seltzer, 1980:355). To more ordinary folk, rabbinic high brow analysis was more likely a restricted linguistic code that (perhaps to their relief) excluded them because they lacked the special knowledge by which these allegorical devices became communicative tools. The practice of using restricted linguistic code among the religious adept was also typical of ecclesiastical literature of the time, wherein "Christianity" came to be defined by ecclesiastical scholasticism. In a world where few knew how to read, such written communication is a code restricted by ignorance to members of the church's bureaucracies and societies.

Communicating in their own internal code was, then, the normal practice of religious adepts in the period. Therefore, it may be that this art served as a vehicle for other allegorical codes in the ancient religious community. The spiritual reality spoken here, expressed by multiple layers of iconographic messages, would have been held in restriction by syntactical complexity and specialized vocabulary. Cracking the code would require the communicant to engage in a lifetime of detailed study under the appropriate teachers. As with linguistic systems (Hoffman 1981:24-28), interpreting those images could have meant contriving "labyrinthine allusions" from patterns of "rhythm and parallelism" as complex (or even more so because of their ambiguity) as the literature of *merkavah*, or the convolutions of *piyyutim* and ancient dialectics¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵⁵These literatures, like others, were incorporated into confessional traditions so that they became "forms of spirituality" in their respective tradition. Thus it is a "mysticism" suitable for spiritual exploration among the adept but considered too

In the same way, iconographic interpretations could be interpreted publicly according to the prevailing religious authority of the area, but in more learned circles, the secrets of heaven could be explored on a free rein. An eavesdropper would have heard, on discussions of these images, accounts that were believed to be spiritually powerful, their interpretations deliberately made metaphorically complex and "obscure by the still more obscure." Most certainly, the deepest meanings were well buried beneath the superficial plain reading of the image. Some of the iconographic systems formerly alive may have belonged to small, and perhaps illicit 'heretical' groups. To them, arrangements of symbols could be construed as instruments of social and religious power when read according their own code. Other more "acceptable" possibilities associated with the same icons may have permitted persons to act according to a "normative" social niche, but they did not prevent other readings. The structures of signification in these icons, their religious meanings and their relationship to actual worship practices

rich for the ordinary soul, and even less acceptable as research material to the outsider.

In Judaism, this material is currently studied as a form of ancient Jewish mysticism out of which grew *Kabbalah*. The reader may consult the works of G. Scholem (1941, 1971, 1974). *Hekhalot* literature is generally inaccessible in English; the reader may consult *Synopse zur hekhalot-Literature*, ed. by P. Schäfer (1981) or in Hebrew script, *Bet HaMidrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der ältern jüdischen Literature* by Adolph Jellinek Jerusalem, Wahrmann Books, 1967. For discussion see Gruenwald (1980), Schäfer (1984) and Halperin (1980:86-92).

In Catholic Christianity, mystical traditions have been accepted, so long as their practitioners can be fitted carefully within dogmatic limits and the sources are many. Kepler's *An Anthology of Devotional Literature* Grand Rapids, Baker Books House 1947, 1977 is an excellent introduction to the more accessible texts.

depended entirely on the "literacy" level in the observer and that in turn could be controlled by the religious establishment.

The Technical Appendices for this chapter are extensive and are directed to readers who are interested in the site information and other experimental details which led to these results. Other readers may proceed directly to Chapter 5 which follows the Appendices.

RESULTS: TECHNICAL APPENDICES

Appendix 4A Counting Cult Sites

The following chart summarizes the relative frequencies of cult sites, whether they be synagogues and churches, as they were used in this study. Our knowledge of the state of the population of public cult sites ranges from the most general to the very particular. The literature cited a total population of about 843 separate sites, or 943 site phases.

Population And Sample Statistics for Cult Sites

Located in the Mediterranean World,
occupations between the first and
the mid seventh centuries C.E.

Population	Total
Sites 843	
Additional Phases (tell sites)	55
Total # of site-phases	898
Sample	
Sites 136	
Additional Phases (tell sites)	37
Total # of site-phases	173

The sample represents 19.265% of the "known population", and has been selected under the criteria for inclusion discussed in Chapter 3. The arguments as to whether this sample might be considered "representative" could go on endlessly.

However, by way of comparison, Gallup polls are based on 2-4% of their respective populations.

Appendix 4B: Frequencies of Churches and Synagogues According to Their Cultural Configuration

These charts provide the distribution of churches and synagogues in each configuration, and in each artifact set within that configuration. Cluster names (in round brackets) correspond to those sets in Appendix 4C which follows.

Configuration: Galilean Sites

Artifact Set: Coins

Cl.Name	N	Syn	% N	Churches	% N
e	2	2	100	0	-
f	2	2	100	0	-
Totals	4	4		0	
% of sample	2.31		2.31		-
Ratio	2:0				

Artifact Set: Architecture

Cl.Name	N	Syn	% N	Churches	% N
k	6	3	50	3	50
p	9	9	100	0	-
Totals	15	12		3	
% of sample	8.67		6.94		1.73
Ratio	4:1				

Artifact Set: Site Situation

Cl.Name	N	Syn	% N	Churches	% N
k	4	2	50	2	50
l	2	2	100	0	-
Totals	6	4		2	
% of Sample	3.47		2.31		1.16
Ratio	2:1				

Artifact Set: Inscriptions

Cl.Name	N	Syn	% N	Churches	% N
i	4	1		3	
% of Sample	3.07		.58		1.73
Ratio	1:3				

Artifact Set: Art Motifs

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
e	7	0		7	100
o	9	9	100	0	
Totals	16	9	100	0	-
% of sample	9.25		5.20		4.05
Ratio	1:0.8				

Configuration: Lowlands

Artifact Set: (Absence of) Coins

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
a	140	43	30.71	97	69.26
% of sample	80.92		24.86		5.67
Ratio	1:2.3				

Artifact Set: Architecture

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
e	18	7	38.89	11	61.11
g	13	2	15.39	11	84.62
h	8	4	50	4	50.
n	3	1	33.33	2	66.67
q	6	2	33.33	4	66.67
r	4	4	100	0	-
s	3	0	-	3	100
t	7	5	116.67	2	28.57
Totals	62	25	40.32	37	58.07
% of sample	35.84		14.45		21.39
Ratio	0.68:1				

Artifact Set: Situation

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
a	15	5	33.33	10	66.66
b	16	14	87.5	2	12.5
c	14	14	100	0	-
d	11	5	45.45	6	54.54
i	5	3	60	2	40
j	5	1	20	4	80
m	7	5	71.43	2	28.57
n	28	0	-	28	100
o	9	1	11.11	8	88.89
Totals	110	48	43.64	62	56.36
% of sample	63.58		27.75		35.84
Ratio	0.77:1				

Artifact Set: Inscriptions

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
a	4	1	25	3	75
b	5	4	80	1	20
c	6	1	16.67	5	83.33
d	5	4	80	1	20
f	4	0	-	4	100
g	7	7	100	0	-
h	5	3	60	2	40
Totals	38	20	52.63	18	47.38
% of sample	21.97		11.56		10.40
Ratio	1.1:1				

Artifact Set: Art Motifs

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
g	14	8	57.14	6	42.86
h	7	1	14.29	6	85.71
i	3	0	-	3	100
j	7	2	28.57	5	71.43
k	15	4	4.44	11	73.33
l	9	9	100	0	-
m	5	5	100	0	-
n	12	4	33.33	8	66.66
Totals	72	33	45.83	39	54.17
% of Sample	41.62		19.08		22.54
Ratio	0.85:1				

Configuration: Uplands**Artifact Set: Coins**

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
b	20	14	70.	6	30
c	5	5	100	0	-
Totals	25	19	76	6	24
% of sample	14.45		10.98		3.47
Ratio	3.17:1				

Artifact Set: Architecture

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
a	13	6	46.15	7	53.85
b	18	3	16.67	15	83.33
c	1	0	-	1	100
d	7	1	14.26	6	85.71
f	14	5	35.71	9	64.29
i	6	0	-	6	100
j	8	1	12.5	7	87.5
k	6	3	50	3	50
l	9	2	22.22	7	77.78
m	8	7	87.5	1	12.5
n	3	1	33.33	2	66.67
o	10	5	50	5	50
Totals	103	34	33.01	69	66.99
% of sample	59.54		19.65		39.88
Ratio	0.49:1				

Artifact Set: Situation

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
e	3	1	33.33	2	66.67
f	3	2	66.67	1	33.33
g	8	7	87.5	1	12.5
h	41	6	14.63	35	85.37
Totals	55	16	29.09	39	70.91
% of sample	31.79		9.25		22.54
Ratio	0.41:1				

Artifact Set: Inscriptions

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
j	8	0	-	8	100
k	5	5	100	0	-
l	15	11	84.62	4	30.77
m	1	0	-	1	100
n	8	0	-	8	100
o	12	12	100	0	-
Totals	49	28	57.14	21	42.86
% of Sample	27.17		16.18		12.15
Ratio	1:2.75				

Artifact Set: Art Motifs

Cluster Name	N	Synagogues	% N	Churches	% N
a	13	0	-	13	100
b	14	4	28.57	10	71.43
c	9	1	11.11	8	88.88
d	5	0	-	5	100
f	23	0	-	23	100
p	11	9	81.82	2	18.18
q	10	10	100	0	-
Totals	85	24	28.24	61	71.76
% of Sample	49.13		13.87		35.26
Ratio	0.39:1				

Appendix 4C: Identification Of Membership In Site Clusters

The tables below show the identification numbers for each site according to the clusters drawn from the respective tree diagrams (or dendograms) for each artifact class. Close placement of sites in the dendograms indicated high site similarity. Determining the core of the clusters was relatively straight forward, involving a simple transfer of information from excavation descriptions. Determining the edges of the clusters were more problematic and could not be automated under this methodology. Therefore, these more problematic sites were treated secondarily. The descriptive attributes of individual problematic sites were compared to the ranked attributes in the main core of the cluster and were included if they contained two or more of the highest-ranking attributes of the cluster. In these cases, their site co-ordinates further collaborated the regional configurations.

Within each artifact class, sites could belong in one cluster only. Sites may locate in one configuration with respect to a particular artifact class, and in another configuration with respect to other artifact classes. For example Rehov III [063] has Galilean architecture and site situation characteristics, an Upland inscription profile and typically Lowland art motifs. Sa'alevim [064] is purely Lowland in architecture, situation and art, while the basilica at 'Ammudim [074] is purely Upland with respect to the same set of artifacts.

Membership, and regional classification, are therefore determined by 1) an examination of the artifactual attributes typical within the cluster cores produced by the dendrogram and 2) an independent mapping of site location. For convenient reference in these tables, the sites have been sorted in numerical order rather than in the similarity order produced by the dendrograms. The letters in round brackets identify specific clusters.

Artifact Class: Coins

Uplands Configuration

(b) 015,018,019,024,025,026,030,035,043,044,
045,059,063,068,082,083,103,106,171,172

(d) 055,058 (e) 042,067

Galilee Configuration

(c) 008,017,
046,049,
069

Absence of Coins: Lowlands Configuration

(a) 001,002,003,004,005,006,007,009,010,011,012,013,014,016,020,021,
022,023,027,028,029,031,032,033,034,036,037,038,039,040,041,047,
048,050,051,052,053,054,056,057,058,060,061,062,064,065,066,070,
071,072,073,074,075,076,077,078,079,080,081,084,085,086,087,088,
089,090,091,092,093,094,095,096,097,098,099,100,101,102,104,105,
107,108,109,110,111,112,113,114,115,116,117,118,119,120,121,122,
123,124,125,126,127,128,129,130,131,132,133,134,135,136,137,138,
139,140,141,142,143,144,145,146,147,148,149,150,151,152,153,154,
155,154,155,156,157,158,159,160,161,162,163,164,165,166,167,168,
170,173

Culture Regions Membership: Uplands Configuration

Architecture		Situation		Inscriptions		Art Motifs	
(a)	005, 006, 008, 110, 014, 022, 054, 076, 137, 151, 152, 165, 173	(e)	023, 065 135	(j)	093, 094 097, 102, 106, 113 116, 132,	(a)	101, 103, 107, 108, 126, 129, 114, 117, 144, 151, 161, 171, 173
(b)	028, 038, 051, 085, 078, 086, 102, 113, 122, 123, 132, 138, 143, 144, 156, 146, 150, 158, 169	(f)	041, 038 144	(k)	023, 024, 040, 042 063	(b)	009, 036, 040, 061, 073, 074, 078, 089, 090, 092, 096, 097, 098, 168
(c)	159	(g)	033, 044 045, 046 056, 057 068, 172	(l)	009, 010, 012, 020, 022, 047, 049, 060, 062, 135, 145, 156, 167	(c)	014, 053, 058, 067, 081, 084, 085, 091, 093
(d)	049, 089, 090, 091, 092, 139, 140	(h)	001, 020 021, 035, 058, 060, 072, 074, 080, 081, 084, 090, 091, 093 094, 095, 096, 097, 098, 099,	(m)	138	(d)	072, 077 080, 124 128
(f)	036, 050, 058, 061, 067, 079, 074, 105, 130, 131, 160, 163, 164, 166		100, 102, 103, 105 106, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 129, 130, 131, 134, 136, 139, 140, 145, 147, 151, 152, 166, 168	(n)	071, 087, 140, 158, 165, 168, 169, 172,	(f)	100, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 130, 131, 140, 142, 146, 147, 150, 152, 157, 160
(i)	073, 101, 129, 148, 153, 168, 171			(o)	001, 003, 006, 013, 016, 019, 026, 029, 038, 046, 054, 078,		
(j)	016, 073, 075, 084, 093, 116, 121, 147, 161						

- (l) 015, 009,
083, 095,
097, 117,
118, 132, 170
(m) 027, 035, 037
017, 040, 066
019, 133,
(o) 003, 042, 060,
069, 077, 048
100, 111, 125, 162

Culture Regions Membership - Lowlands Configuration

Architecture			Situation	Inscriptions		Art Motifs	
(e)	026, 030, 031, 052, 057, 032, 033, 080, 081, 082, 094, 107, 115, 119, 120, 149, 154	(a)	005, 006, 049, 064, 075, 108, 119, 128, 142, 143, 148, 163, 164, 173	(a)	015, 107, 128, 170	(g)	008, 015, 025, 028, 033, 035, 041, 068, 071, 088, 094, 127, 132, 153
(g)	010, 013, 070, 071, 072, 103, 112, 113, 114, 126, 126, 141, 142, 167	(b)	003, 011, 015, 016, 025, 027, 030, 031, 032, 036, 040, 042, 055, 061, 062, 153, 160	(d)	021, 095, 122, 123, 149, 150 005, 043, 055, 056, 086	(h)	059, 070, 135, 136, 137, 141 148
(h)	018, 045, 064, 065, 097, 106, 128, 155	(c)	001, 004, 026, 043, 047, 037, 039, 052, 051, 053, 066, 067, 054, 059,	(e)	079, 080,	(i)	075, 102, 116
(n)	039, 098, 108			(f)	075, 104, 108, 166,	(j)	003, 005, 113, 122, 123, 149, 159
(q)	002, 024, 134, 087, 088, 124 135	(d)	007, 008 009, 010 028, 104	(g)	082, 083 105, 125 127, 137 154	(k)	019, 045, 062, 064 076, 079 083, 133, 138, 139, 155, 156, 165, 169, 170
(r)	020, 021, 023, 046		132, 146 157, 170	(h)	007, 008 037, 118 081	(l)	018, 027, 031, 032, 034, 052,

(s)	096, 109, 172	(i)	171 014, 017		057, 066, 065,
(t)	011, 012, 034, 043, 047, 104, 145	(j)	022, 089 092 024, 070 071, 073 159	(m)	017, 039,
				(m)	060, 063, 069,
				(n)	016, 020 021, 037, 082, 086, 087, 095, 099, 134, 154, 158,

Culture Regions Membership: Galilee Configuration

Architecture	Situation	Inscription	Art Motifs
(k) 001, 029, 041, 062, 063, 157	(k) 029, 048 161, 162	(i) 058, 084 085, 091	(e) 121, 143, 152, 163, 164, 166, 167
(p) 007, 004, 025, 044, 053, 055, 056, 059, 068	(l) 012, 013		(o) 002, 007, 011, 013, 024, 030, 044, 050, 051
			(p) 001, 004, 026, 029, 038, 047, 054, 055, 056, 145, 172,
			(q) 006, 010, 012, 022, 023, 042, 043, 046,

Appendix 4D: Sites In The Sample

Each site-phase, named according to site and the respective phase label, is treated as a separate taxonomic unit. Since stratigraphic terminology is not standard in the reporting literature. I have consistently used the term "phase" to convey the sense of "level", "stratum" or "stage". Phases within multi-level sites, or sites having several buildings at the same location (and thus the same site name) are further identified by letter and numeral suffixes attached to the site name. To facilitate the use of extensive and multiple bibliographic sources for each site, this list may include several identifiers for a single site name. In general, the list follows the specific terminology of the excavator and the language of important secondary sources. Where excavation identifiers were not available, or were inconsistent between secondary sources, this list includes generally accepted "stages" as described by M. Chiat in her **HANDBOOK** (1982). For the churches, I relied on Ovadiah's **CORPUS** (1970) for which supplements were published in 1981 and 1982.

In order to promote a methodical response to the questions of our original problematic, and for rapid identification during the course of analysis, classification of sites into synagogues and churches was maintained by means of identification numbers. The reader should keep in mind that site numbering is for identification and "keyword" purposes only and is otherwise arbitrary.

Symbols

Byz - Byzantine (period)
 C - Century
 MR - Middle Roman (period)
 LR - Late Roman (period)
 All dates are C.E.

Synagogues

Site Date

001. 'Isfiya	Mid 5th-6thC
002. Khirbet Marus Level A	1st Q 5thC
003. Arbel	Late 3rd-Early 4thC
004. Bar'am A	>Mid 4thC
005. Beth Alpha, Phase I	5thC
006. Beth Alpha, Phase II	6thC
007. Beth Se'arim, IIIA	Early 3rd-Early 4thC
008. Beth Se'arim, IIIB	Early 4th-35
009. Beth She'an B, Phase I	5th C-6thC
010. Beth She'an B, Phase II	6thC
011. Beth She'an A, Level VI (Stage I)	Late 4th-Early 5thC
012. Beth She'an A, Level V (Stage II)	Mid 5-6thC
013. Beth She'an A, Level IV (Stage III)	Late 6th
014. Beth Yerah	Late 5th - Early 6thC
015. Caesarea, Stratum IV	4thC
016. Caesarea, Stratum V	5thC
017. En Geddi, Stratum IIIA	Late 2nd-E 3rdC
018. En Geddi, Stratum IIIB	End 3rd-E 4thC
019. En Geddi, Stratum II	2nd half 5thC
020. Esthemoa, Phase I	4thC
021. Esthemoa, Phase II	>4th-7thC
022. Gaza A	508/9 - E 7thC
023. Geras A	4-5th C >530/531
024. Gus Halav A VI	Late Roman 250-362
025. Gus Halav A VII	Byz 363/5-551
026. Gadar	4th-E5thC
027. Hammath Teverya B III	3rdC
028. Hammath Teverya B IIIB Bldg IIB	Early 4thC
029. Hammath Teverya B IIIA Bldg IIA	2nd half 4thC
030. Hammath Teverya B IIA Bldg 1B	5/6th-E7th/8thC
031. Hammath Teverya A I	3/4thC
032. Hammath Teverya A II:	4-5thC
033. Hammath Teverya A III:	6-10thC
034. Horvat Midras	5thC

035. Horvat Rimmon I	3rdC
036. Horvat Rimmon II	6thC
037. Hulda	Late 4thC
038. Jericho	End 6th-Early 7thC
039. Jerusalem, David's Tomb	361-363
040. Jessud Hammalle	4thC
041. Kefar Hananya	3rdC
042. Kefar Nahum	Late 4th - 7thC
043. Khirbet Ammudim	2nd-mid 4thC/5thC
044. Khirbet Sema, Stratum III	Late 3rd-300
045. Khirbet Sema, Stratum IV	306-419
046. Khirbet Susiya	Late 4th, Early 5th-9thC
047. Kokav ha Yarden	3rd-4thC
048. Korazim	3rd-4thC
049. Ma'on Phase II	>4th-528
050. Ma'oz Hayyim I	>4thC
051. Ma'oz Hayyim II	Mid 5thC
052. Ma'oz Hayyim III	5th-7thC
053. Meron:Field III.MIV.1	300
054. Na'aran	Early 5-6thC
055. Nabratein A, Building I	2ndC
056. Nabratein A, Building IIA	250-306
057. Nabratein A, Building IIB:	306-363
058. Nabratein A, Building III	564-700
059. Qasrin A, Stratum V	Late 4th-Early 5thC
060. Ramat Aviv	Early 6th - Early 7thC
061. Rehov Phase I	4thC
062. Rehov Phase II	Late 4th-Early 5th
063. Rehov Phase III	6-7thC
064. Sa'alevim	4-6thC
065. Tell Menora Phase II	6thC
066. Khirbet Marus Stratum B:	6th-7th
067. Khirbet Marus Stratum C:	Mid 7thC
068. Khirbet Sumaq	3-7thC
069. Qasrin B, Stratum IV	Early 6th C-7thC

Churches

070. Abde, South Church	5thC
071. Abde, North Church (#11)	6thC
072. Abu Gosh, basilica	2nd Half 5thC
073. 'Agur, basilica	L 4thC
074. 'Ammudim, basilica	4th Byz
075. 'Imwas, North Church	6thC

076. 'Imwas, South Church	6thC
077. Asquelon, North Church	6thC
078. Asquelon, South Church	7-8thC
079. Bahan	6thC
080. Beit Jimal, basilica	5-6thC
081. Beit Sha'ar	2nd half 6thC
082. Beth Guvrin, Period IV	6thC
083. Beth Guvrin (#20)	500
084. Beth Ha-Shita, Posterior	5-6th or 7thC
085. Beth Ha-Shita, Anterior	7thC
086. Beth Shean. martyria	>530
087. Beth Shean, monastery	6thC
088. Beth Shean, central	5thC-806
089. Beth Yerah, basilica A (26a)	1st half 5thC
090. Beth Yerah, basilica B (26b)	Late 5th-E 6thC
091. Beth Yerah, basilica D (26c)	528/529-Mid 6thC
092. Beth Yerah, basilica E (26d)	Late 6th - E7thC
093. Bethany, first church	4thC
094. Bethany, new church	5thC
095. Bethlehem, Constantinian	1st half 4thC
096. Bethlehem, Justinian	6thC
097. Bir el-Qutt	2nd half 6thC
098. Ed-Dsehunene	6thC
099. Ein Kerem, North church	5-6thC
100. Ein Kerem, South church	5-6thC
101. El 'Aleiliyat, chapel	Byz
102. Hanita E	5th/6thC
103. Hebron, basilica	4thC
104. Jericho, Church of Virgin	4-5thC
105. Jerusalem, Ch of St. Stephen Level I	460-615
106. Jerusalem, Ch of St. Anna	E7th C-8thC
107. Jerusalem, Holy Ascension A	>378-2nd half 4thC
108. Jerusalem, Holy Ascension B	614, 1st half 7thC
109. Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre/Anastasis	235/335
110. Jerusalem, Eleona	4thC
111. Jerusalem, Gethsemane	2nd half-4thC
112. Jerusalem, Holy Zion I	390-614
113. Jerusalem, Mount of Olives	5-6thC
114. Jerusalem, Tarik Bab Sitti	5-6thC
115. Kafr Kama, North Church	1st half 6thC
116. Kafr Kama, South Church	1st half 6thC
117. Kefar Nahum, octagonal church	5thC
118. Kefar Truman	6thC
119. Khan el-Ahmar I	470/82-614

120. Khan el-Ahmar II	614-659/60
121. Khirbet Abu Ghunneim	5th or 6thC
122. Khirbet el-Hadatha I	5thC
123. Khirbet el-Hadatha II	6thC
124. Khirbet el-Mird	492
125. Khirbet en-Nitla A I	4-6thC
126. Khirbet en-Nitla B II	6-7thC
127. Khirbet en-Nitla C III	615/36-747
128. Khirbet Hubeila	>614
129. Khirbet Kufin	5thC
130. Khirbet Siyar el-Ghanam A	4-5thC
131. Khirbet Siyar el-Ghanam B	6thC
132. Khirbet Umm er-Rus	6th-7thC
133. Khirbet Umm Jarrar	Mid 6th
134. Khirbet 'Asida I	5thC
135. Maresha	5th-E7thC
136. Masada	5thC
137. Mishmar Ha'emek	5thC
138. Nazareth	Middle Roman-3/4thC
139. Shavei Zion I	5thC
140. Shavei Zion II	Late 5thC
141. Silo A, basilica	Mid 5thC
142. Silo B, basilica	Mid 6thC
143. Tabgha, chapel (#47)	6thC
144. Tabgha, chapel (#46a)	Mid 4thC
145. Tabgha, Loaves & Fishes(#46b)	End 4th E 5thC
146. 'Agur	Late 4th
147. 'Ein el-Fauvuar	Byz
148. 'Ein Haninya(Not Kefar Hananya)	5th or 6thC
149. Motza	5-6thC
150. Mukhmas	6thC
151. Nahal Tanninim	Byz
152. Ramat Rahel Stratum II	5-6thC
153. Reshef	6thC
154. Roglit	5-8thC
155. Ruhama	6-7thC
156. Sede Nashum	6thC
157. Sepphoris	Byz
158. Suhmata, basilica	Mid 6th
159. Susita, cathedral	5thC
160. Susita A	6thC
161. Susita B	6thC
162. Susita C	6thC
163. Tiberias A	5th

164. Tiberias B	Early 5th-Early 6th
165. 'Ozem	5-6thC
166. 'Evron A	415
167. 'Evron B	Mid 5th
168. 'Evron C	End 5th
169. Hazor-Ashdod	512
170. Magen Phase I Bldg C	Late 4th-Early 5th
171. Magen Phase I Bldg B	Late 4th-Early 5th
172. Magen Phase II Bldg A	6thC
173. Magen Phase II Bldg D	6thC

Appendix 4E: Keyword Site Name Cross-Reference Index

Near Eastern archaeology is typified by a wide variety of independent publications. Excavation reports and secondary studies constituting both modern and ancient literatures may be discovered in many languages. Site reports may stem, in our case, from site work conducted over nearly a hundred years, although we selected sites which were at least partially known through modern reporting methods. Multiple systems of naming in these unco-ordinated primary sources has resulted in highly variant site names and inconsistent spelling disruptive enough that they threatened to abort the entire research foundation of this dissertation.

Therefore, the site naming processes active in the multiple sources which form the Site Bibliography were co-ordinated through a keyword index which was also keyed to the automated database. The following list was compiled as site names as were encountered. It proved invaluable both in selection of the sample and determining at least an estimate of the ancient population of cult sites. Once the sample was selected, the same keyword identifies the phase throughout this research, from the use of the sample in various analytical experiments to the writing up of the results.

The reader familiar with a particular site may find reference to it under the name he or she knows or under a number of variants. This cross-reference index directs the researcher from that variant to the keyword site name adopted throughout this dissertation. Synagogue sites were named according to the entries in Hüttenmeister and Reeg (1976), then Chiat (1982) and more recent reports in

books and periodicals. The church site names follow Ovadiah (1970, 1981, 1982), but were supplemented by Krautheimer (1981) and Avi-Yonah (1976). In some cases, the need for rapid recognition and the inflexible requirements of database operations conflicted. Then, names which met those requirements were chosen arbitrarily. The keyword, or consistent name used for automated purposes, was usually (but not always) the first encountered in the research process and not necessarily the modern name. Site name variants are sorted for the sample sites and are included in the Site Bibliography which follows this cross-reference index.

Alternate Name	Index Keyword
Ab'de	Abde
Abde	Abde
Abellin	I'Billin
Aboda Plisks	Aboda Plisks
Abrikha	Qabriha
Abu Tor	Jerusalem
Abu Sargeh	Abu Sargeh
Abu Ghosh	Abu Ghosh
Abu Mina	Abu Mina
Abu Amir, Horvat	Khirbet Abu Amir
Abu Amir	Khirbet Abu Amir
'Abud	'Abud
Acre	Akko
Ad-Danqalia	Ad-Danqalia
Ad-Danqalla	Ad-Danqalia
Ad-dikka	ad-Dikka
Adalia	Antalya
Aegina	Aegina
Aelia Capitolina	Jerusalem
Afeq	Afeq
Aglasun	Sagalossos
Agrippina (?)	Kokav Ha Yarden
'Agur	'Agur
Ahmadiyye	Ahmadiya

Ain Haninya
 Ain Dilfeh
 Ain el-Ma'muddiyyeh

Ain Ain Hanniya
 Ain Karim B, Sanct. Visitation
 Ain Karim
 Ain Duk
 'Ain Hanniya
 'Ajjur
 'Akbara
 'Akbare
 Akko
 Al-'Al
 Al-Ahmediyeh
 Al-Buqe'a
 Al-Buqu'em
 Al-Buraika
 Al-Gis
 Al-Halil
 Al-Hamma
 Al-Lawiya
 Al-Lawiyeh
 Al-Ma'
 Al-Maghar
 Al-Messani
 Al-Quds
 Al-Tulel
 Alahan Klissi
 Alahan Manastir
 Alaja Taila
 Alaja Jaila
 Alakilise
 Alcantara
 Aleppo
 Alkalise
 'Alma
 Amida
 Ammudim, Khirbet
 'Ammudim
 'Amudiya
 Amudiyye
 'Amwas
 Amwas

'Ein Haninya
 'Ain Dilfeh*
 Hebron
 (ChOfStJohnTheBaptist)
 'Ein Haninya
 Ein Kerem B/ChOfSJB
 Ein Kerem A
 Na'aran
 'Ein Haninya
 'Agur
 'Aqbara
 'Aqbara
 Akko
 Al-'Al
 Al-Ahmediyeh
 Pequi'in
 Pequi'in
 Buriqa
 Gus Halav
 Hevron
 Hammath Teverya
 Lawiya
 Lawiya
 Kafr Al-Ma'
 Al-Maghar
 Al-Messani
 Jerusalem
 Jessud Hammale
 Alahan Klissi
 Alahan Manastir
 Alakalise
 Alakilise
 Alakalisi
 Alcantara
 Aleppo
 Alkalise
 Alma
 Amida
 Khirbet Amrnudim
 Khirbet Ammudim
 Ahmadiya
 Ahmadiya
 'Imwas
 'Imwas

Amwas
 'Ana
 'Anata
 'Anathoth
 Androna
 Antalya
 Antioch-Kaoussie
 Antiocha Hippos
 Apamea
 Apamea
 Apamea
 Apheca
 Aphek
 Apollonia
 Apolonia
 Apu Jeremiah
 Apulia
 'Aqbara
 Aquileia
 Ar-Rafid
 Ar-Rama
 Ar-Ramah
 Arbel
 Arbela
 Areopolis
 Ariha
 Aroudz
 'Arshin
 As-Safuriya
 As-Salam
 As-Samu
 Ascalon
 Aschkelon
 Asdod
 Ashdod
 Ashkelon
 Ashkelon
 Ashkelon-Barnea
 'Asida
 Asqalan
 Asqelon
 Asquelon
 At-Tulel
 'Athens

'Imwas
 'Ana
 'Anata
 'Anata
 Il Anderin
 Antalya
 Kaoussie
 Susita
 Apamea
 Orontes Island
 Apamea
 Afeq
 Afeq
 Reshef
 Reshef
 Apu Jeremiah
 Canosa
 'Aqbara
 Aquileia
 Horvat Rafid
 Ar-Rama
 Ar-Rama
 Arbel
 Arbel
 Rabbat Moab
 Jericho
 T'alish
 'Arshin
 Asq-Safuriya
 Gamla
 Esthemoa
 Asquelon
 Asquelon
 Asdod
 Asdod
 Asquelon
 Asquelon
 Asquelon
 Asquelon
 Khirbet 'Asida
 Asquelon
 Asquelon
 Asquelon
 Jassud Hamma'le
 Athens

Atlit
 Attica
 'Auja el-Hafir
 Avan
 Avdat
 Avdot
 Avelim
 Ayyelet Ha Sahar
 Ayyelet hasahar
 Azotus Mesogaeus/Hippenus
 B'uda
 Baal Ma'on
 Baalbek
 Babiska
 Babuda
 Beca
 Baetocece
 Bahan
 Bahyo
 Bakirha
 Balata
 Bamukka
 Banakfur
 Bankusa
 Baqa
 Bar'am
 Barade
 Bashamra
 Bashmishli
 Basufan
 Bathra
 Bathyra
 Batra
 Batuta
 Bawit
 Be'ela (?)
 Beerscheva
 Beersheba
 Beisan
 Beit 'ur et Tahta
 Beit 'Anuja
 Beit Sha'ar
 Beit Jimal
 Beit Jibrin

Atlit
 Vavron
 Nizzana
 Avan
 Abde
 Abde
 l'Billin
 Ayyelet Ha Sahar
 Ayyelet Ha Sahar
 Asdod
 B'uda
 Ma'in (Jordan)
 Baalbek
 Babiska
 Babuda
 Peqi'in
 Baetocece
 Bahan
 Behyo
 Bakirha
 Gerizim
 Bamukka
 Banakfur
 Bankusa
 Peqi'in
 Bar'am A/B
 Brad
 Bashamra
 Bashmishli
 Basufan
 Batra
 Batra
 Batra
 Batuta
 Bawit
 Ma'oz Hayyim
 Beersheba
 Beersheba
 Beth Shean A/B
 Beit 'ur et Tahta
 Bethany
 Beit Sha'ar
 Beit Jimal
 Beth Guvrin

Beit Hananya
 Beit Ilfa
 Beit Jibrin
 Beit Se'an
 Beit Jitbrin
 Belvoir
 Benin
 Beroea
 Bersabe
 Besan
 Besara
 Beshun
 Bet 'Akkar
 Bet Akkar
 Bet Alfa
 Bet Gibrin
 Bet Ilfa
 Bet Jibrin
 Bet Yerah
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Ha-Shita
 Beth Shean-Tell el Husn

Beth Gouvrin
 Beth Gouvrin
 Beth Govrin
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Shean
 Beth Yerah
 Beth Alpha
 Beth She'arim
 Beth She'an
 Bethany
 Bethgabra
 Bethlehem
 Bettir
 Bin Bir Kilisse
 Binbirkilisse
 Bir as-Saba
 Bir el-Qutt
 Birim
 Bisin
 Bonn
 Bosra Eski Sham

Bethany
 Beth Alpha
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth She'an
 Beth Guvrin
 Kokhav ha-Yarden
 Benin
 Aleppo
 Beersheba
 Beth Shean A/B
 Beth She'arim
 Beth She'an
 Bet Akkar
 Bet Akkar
 Beth Alpha
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Alpha
 Beth Guvrin
 Bet Yerah
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Ha-Shita
 Beth Shean
 (Tell el Husn)
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Guvrin
 Beth Shean A/B
 Beth Yerah
 Beth Alpha
 Beth Se'arim
 Beth Shean A/B
 Bethany
 Beth Guvrin
 Bethlehem
 Bettir
 Binbirkilisse
 Binbirkilisse
 Beersheba
 Bir el-Qutt
 Bar'am A/B
 Beth Shean A/B
 Bonn
 Bosra

Bosra
 Bostra
 Brad
 Btirsā
 Burdakli
 Burdj Hedar
 Burdjid-Deruni
 Bureqa
 Buriqa
 Burj el Ahmar
 Butmiyye
 Buzluk
 Caesarea
 Caesarea (Cappadocia)
 Caesarea (Palestine)
 Campania
 Campania
 Canosa
 Capernaum
 Capua Vetere
 Caricin Grad
 Carmel
 Carmil
 Carthage
 Carthage, Damous el Karita

 Castellion
 Cha'ab
 Chermela
 Chorazain
 Chorazin
 Chorozaïn
 Chorozin
 Cimitale
 Cologne
 Colonia
 Como
 Constantia Neapolis
 Constantinople
 Constantinople
 (Acheriopoietos Constantinople)
 Crete
 Ctesiphon
 Dat ̣a

Bosra
 Bosra
 Brad
 Btirsā
 Burdakli
 Burdj Hedar
 Burdjid-Deruni
 Buriqa
 Buriqa
 Ed-Dsehunene
 Butmiya
 Buzluk
 Caesarea
 Caesarea in Cappadocia
 Caesarea (Palestine)
 Capua Vetere
 Cimitale-Nola
 Canosa
 Kefar Nahum
 Capua Vetere
 Caricin Grad
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Susiya
 Carthage
 Carthage,
 (Damous El Karita)
 Khirbet el-Mud
 Sa'av
 Khirbet Karmil
 Korazim
 Korazim
 Korazim
 Korazim
 Cimitale-Nola
 Cologne
 Motza
 Como
 Gaza A/B
 Constantinople
 Constantinople
 (ChurchOfSt.Mary)
 Crete
 Ctesiphon
 Daburah

Dabburiya
 Dabbyie
 Dabiya
 Dabiye
 Dabiyye
 Daburah
 Dallata
 Dallosa
 Dalton
 Damatha
 Damit il 'Alya
 Damoers el Karita

Dana
 Danna
 Dannikleh
 Dar Kita
 Dar Aziz
 Dar el Kous
 Dardara
 Dauwar
 Davela
 David's Tomb
 Dehes
 Deir Abu Hennes
 Deir Abu Tor
 Deir Sha'ar
 Deir Qulah
 Deir el 'Azar
 Deir Dosy
 Deir 'Arabi
 Deir 'Aziz
 Deir el 'Asal
 Deir Dosi
 Deir Daqla
 Deir Wadi
 Deir-El-Ahmar
 Delos
 Demre
 Der 'Aziz
 Der Nawa
 Der Sim'an
 Der Sim'an
 Der Seta

Dabiye
 Dabiya
 Dabiya
 Dabiye
 Dabiya
 Daburah
 Dalton
 Dallosa
 Dalton
 Damit il 'Alya
 Damit il 'Alya
 Carthage,
 (Dous El Karita)
 Dana (North)
 Dana
 Ad-Danqalia
 Dar Qita
 Dardara
 Le Kef
 Dardara
 Dauwar
 Khirbet Devala
 David's Tomb/Jerusalem
 Dehes
 Deir Abu Hennes
 Giv'at Hananya
 Beit Sha'ar
 Deir Qulah
 Abu Ghosh
 Deir Dosy
 Deir 'Arabi
 Dardara
 Deir el'Asal
 Deir Dosy
 Deir Daqla
 Deir Wadi
 Deir-El-Ahmar
 Delos
 Myra
 Dardara
 Der Nawa
 Der Sim'an (N.Syria)
 Der Sim'an (Samaria)
 Der Seta

Der Sambil
 Der idj Djuwani
 Der Tumanin
 Der il-Kahf
 Der Bohera
 Dera'man
 Dermesh

 Dermesh

 Devela
 Diocaesarea
 Djeradeh
 Djuwaniyeh
 Dor
 Douimous Basilica

 Doumies
 Dura
 Dura Europos
 Dura Europos
 Dura
 Dvin
 Eboda
 Ed Deir
 Ed-Danqale
 Ed-Danqalla
 Ed-Danquellie
 Ed-Dik
 Ed-Dikka
 Ed-Dikka
 Ed-Dikkeh
 Ed-Dikkih
 Ed-Domeh
 Ed-Dsehunene
 Ed-Edkkeh
 Edessa
 'Edriya
 Eh-Hammeh
 'Ein Duq
 'Ein el-Fauvuar
 'Ein Haninya (not Kefar Hananya)
 Ein Gaddi
 Ein Geddi

Der Sambil
 Der idj Djuwani
 Der Tumanin
 Der il-Kahf
 Bosra
 Dera'man
 Carthage,
 (Damous El Karita)
 Carthage,
 (Damous El Karita)
 Khirbet Devala
 Sepphoris
 Djeradeh
 Djuwaniyeh
 Dor
 Carthage,
 (Damous El Karita)
 Dermesh
 Dura Europos
 Dura Europos
 Dura-Europos
 Dura-Europos
 Dvin
 Abde
 Khirbet Yarun
 Ad-Danqalia
 Ad-Danqalia
 Ad-Danqalia
 Ad-Dikka
 Ad-Dikka
 Ad-Dikka
 Ad-Dikka
 Ad-Dikka
 Ad-Dikka
 Ed-Domeh
 Ed-Dsehunene
 Ad-Dikka
 Edessa
 Ad-Danqalia
 Hammat Gader
 Na'aran
 'Ein el-Fauvuar
 'Ein Haninya
 En Geddi
 En Geddi

'Ein 'Arrub
 'Ein Dirweh
 'Ein Karem
 'Ein Haninya
 'Ein Ha Shiv'ah
 Ein Ha Shivah
 Ein Karem
 'Ein Karim
 'Ein el-Fawwar
 'Ein el-Jadida
 Ein Kerem
 'Ein es-Sultan
 El Karmil
 El Kurmul
 El Bara
 El Khargal
 El Mishrafa
 El 'Aleiliyat
 El- 'Eizaruja
 El- Breikah
 El-'Al
 El-Ahmediyeh
 El-Asnam
 El-Bitmiyeh
 El-Breikah
 El-Buqara
 El-Halawiya
 El-Hamediyeh
 El-Hamma
 El-Hamma
 El-Hammam
 El-Hamman

El-Hamme
 El-Hammeh
 El-Hubeila
 El-Jaduda
 El-Jish
 El-Kharga
 El-Khargah
 El-Khudr
 El-Mughar
 El-Qusabiyibe
 El-Quweisma

'Ein Arrub
 'Ein Dirweh
 Ein Kerem
 'Ein Haninya
 et-Tabgha
 et-Tabgha
 Ein Kerem
 Ein Kerem
 'Ein el-Fauvuar
 'Ein el-Jadida
 Ein Kerem
 Jericho
 Khirbet Karmil
 Khirbet Karmil
 El Bara
 El Khargal
 Mitspe-Shivta
 El 'Aleiliyat
 Bethany
 Al-Maghar
 Al-'Al
 Al Ahmediyeh
 Orleansville
 Butmiya
 Buriqa
 Pequi'in
 Aleppo
 Ahmadiya
 Gader
 Hammath Teverya
 Hammath Teverya
 Beth Shean
 (Tell el Husn)
 Gader
 Gader
 Khirbet El-Hubeila
 El-Jaduda
 Gus Halav
 El Khargah
 El Khargah
 El Khudr
 Al-Maghar
 Qusbiya
 El-Quweisma

El-Yehudiyeh
 Eli-'Al
 Elusa
 Emmaus
 Emmaus
 En Dok
 En Gedi
 'En Geddi
 En Geddi
 En Nasut
 En-Nabratein
 'En-Nasut
 'En-Natosh
 Ephesus
 Epidauros
 er-Rabba
 Er-Rafid
 Er-Ramah
 Er-Ras
 Ereruk
 es-Sabba
 Es-Samoa
 'Esfia
 Esh Shajara
 Esh-Sheik Ibreik
 Eshtemoa
 Eski Andaval
 Estemoa
 Esthemoa
 et-Tabgha
 et-Taiyiba
 'Evrom
 'Evron
 Fa'lul
 Fafirtin
 Fahma
 Fahura
 Fakhura
 Farwana
 Fidrah
 Fidreh
 Fik
 Fiq
 Gabal Furedis

Yahudiya
 Al-'Al
 Elusa
 'Imwas
 'Imwas
 Na'aran
 En Geddi
 En Geddi
 En Geddi
 'En-Nasut
 Nabratein A/B
 'En-Nasut
 'En Nasut
 Ephesus
 Epidauros
 Rabbat Moab
 Khirbet Rafid
 Ar-Rama
 Asdod
 Ereruk
 Masada
 Esthemoa
 'Isfiya
 Esh Shajara
 Beth Se'arim
 Esthemoa
 Eski Andaval
 Estemoa
 Esthemoa
 Et-Tabgha
 er-Taiyiba
 'Evron
 'Evron
 Fa'lul
 Fafirtin
 Fahma
 Fahura
 Fahura
 Rehov
 Fidreh
 Fidreh
 Afeq
 Afeq
 Herodium

Gabata
 Gabatha
 Gadara
 Hammath Gader
 Gamala
 Gamla
 Garizim
 Gaulan
 Gaza
 Gaza Mauimas
 Gaza
 Gazza
 Gebel Rumede
 Genesius
 Geras
 Gerasa
 Gerizim
 Gerusalemme
 Gevat
 Giscala
 Giv'at Hananya
 Giv'at Ram
 Giv'at Hagamadim
 Golan
 Gortyna
 Grado
 Gufta Ha Sippori
 Gus Halav
 Gush Halav
 Gvat Hirbet Jebata
 Hagia Leonidas
 Haidra
 Hamat Gader
 Hamman Lif
 Hammat Gadara
 Hammat Tiberias
 Hammath Teverya
 Hammath Gadara
 Hammath Gadar
 Hammath Tiberias
 Hananya
 Hanita
 Har Tabor
 Hass

Gevat
 Gevat
 Gader
 Gader
 Gamla
 Gamla
 Gerizim
 Golan
 Gaza A/B
 Gaza A
 Gaza A/B/C
 Gaza A/B/C
 Gebel Rumeda
 Geras
 Geras A/B
 Geras A/B
 Gerizim
 Gerusalemme
 Gevat
 Gus Halav
 Giv'at Hananya
 Giv'at Ram
 Ma'oz Hayyim
 Goian
 Gortyna
 Grado
 Gufta Ha Sippori
 Gus Halav
 Gus Halav
 Gus Halav
 Gevat
 Lecharon
 Haidra
 Gader
 Naro
 Gader
 Hammath Teverya A/B
 Hammath Teverya A/B
 Gader
 Gader
 Hammath Teverya A/B
 Kefar Hananyah
 Hanita
 Har Tabor
 Hass

Hazor-Ashdod
 Hebron
 Helkath
 HENCHIR RHIRIA
 HEPHZIBAH
 Herodion
 Herodium
 Hessn Soleiman
 Hevron
 Hieropolis
 Hippos
 Hisfin
 Hoha
 Horvat as-Seh-Ishaq
 Horvat Qasata
 Horvat ar-Ruqqadiya
 Horvat Ofrat
 Horvat Nator
 Horvat Amir
 Horvat al-Ishaqiya
 Horvat al-'Asafira
 Horvat Abu-Amir
 Horvat al-Ma'in
 Horvat al-'Uzez
 Horvat ar-Raqadiya
 Horvat 'Amudim
 Horvat Qoshet
 Horvat ar-Ruqfadiya
 Horvat Rafid
 Horvat Kishor
 Horvat Karmil
 Horvat Kisor
 Horvat Weradim
 Horvat Umm Kasram
 Horvat Karmel
 Horvat Huha
 Horvat Habra
 Horvat Karaza
 Horvat Dalton
 Horvat Daliya
 Horvat Tuba
 Horvat Tiriya
 Horvat Shema'
 Horvat Selun

Asdod
 Hebron
 Yirka
 HENCHIR RHIRIA
 Beth Alpha
 Herodion
 Herodium
 Baetocece
 Hebron
 Hieropolis
 Susita
 Hisfin
 Horvat Hoha
 Horvat al-Ishaqiya
 Horvat Qoshet
 Huldah
 Horvat Ofrat
 Khirbet Nator
 Khirbet Abu Amir
 Horvat al-Ishaqiya
 Kefar Bilu
 Khirbet Abu Amir
 Ma'on
 Kefar Aziz
 Huldah
 Khirbet Ammudim
 Horvat Qasta
 Huldah
 Horvat Rafid
 Horvat Kisor
 Khirbet Karmil
 Horvat Kisor
 Horvat Weradim
 Horvat Kisor
 Khirbet Karmil
 Horvat Hoha
 Horvat Habra
 Korazim
 Dalton
 Horvat Daliyah
 Khirbet Tieba
 Khirbet Tiriya
 Khirbet Sema
 Silo

Horvat Saruna
 Horvat Rimmon
 Horvat Sumaq
 Horvat Summaqa
 Horvat Tieba
 Horvat Tayyiba
 Horvat Susiya
 Horvat Sura
 Horvat Bet Netofa
 Horvat Midras
 Horvat Gararit
 Horvat Hadat
 Hsedja
 Hubeila
 Huha
 Hulda
 Huldah
 Hurvat Rimmon
 Husa
 Husaifa
 Husifa
 Husifah
 I'billin
 I'djaz
 id-Der
 Il Anderin
 Il-Asim
 Il-Barah
 Il-Firdjeh
 Il-Habbat
 Il-Uber
 Il-Umta'iyeh
 Imwas
 Imwas
 'Imwas
 Irbid
 is-Ruhaiyeh
 Isdud
 Isfiya
 Isfiye
 Ishruk
 Istanbul
 It-Tuba
 Izmit

Sarona
 Horvat Rimmon
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Khirbet Tieba
 Horvat Ofrat
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Shura
 Horvat Bet Netofa
 Horvat Midras
 Khirbet Umm Jarar
 Khirbet el Hadatha
 Kseidjbe
 Khirbet el-Hubeila
 Horvat Hoha
 Huldah
 Huldah
 Horvat Rimmon
 Usha
 'Isfiya
 'Isfiya
 'Isfiya
 I'billin
 I'djaz
 id-Der
 Il Anderin
 Il-Asim
 Il-Barah
 Il-Firdjeh
 Il-Habbat
 Il-Uber
 Il-Umta'iyeh
 'Imwas
 'Imwas
 'Imwas
 Arbel
 is-Ruhaiyeh
 Asdod
 'Isfiya
 'Isfiya
 Ishruk
 Constantinople
 It-Tuba
 Nicomedia

Iznik
 Jabne
 Jafia
 Jamnia
 Japhia
 Jassud-Hamma'le
 Javne
 Jebel et Tur
 Jebel Fureidis
 Jerash
 Jericho
 Jerusalem
 Jerusalem, Anastasis

 Jerusalem
 Jerusalem, House of Annas

 Jessud Hammale
 Justiniana Prima
 Kabr Hiram
 Kafr Harib
 Kafr Kenna
 Kafr 'Inan
 Kafr Kana
 Kafr Dallata
 Kafr el-ma
 Kafr Cana
 Kafr Nafah
 Kafr Nafakh
 Kafr Danna
 Kafr Bir'im
 Kafr Cana
 Kafr Kanna
 Kafr Kama
 Kal'at Kalota
 Kal'at Sim'an
 Kalb Lauzeh
 Kalesi
 Kalota
 Kanaf
 Kanawat
 Kanef
 Kanlidorvane
 Kanlidorvane

Nicaea
 Yavne
 Yafia
 Yavne
 Yafia
 Jassud Hammale
 Yavne
 Har Tabor
 Herodium
 Geras A/B
 Jericho
 Jerusalem
 Jerusalem,
 (Church of Nativity)
 Jerusalem
 Jerusalem,
 (St Peter in Gallacantu)
 Jessud Hammale
 Caricin Brad
 Kabir Hiram
 Kafr Harib
 Kafr Kanna
 Kefar Hananyah
 Kafr Kanna
 Dalton
 Kefr Al Ma'
 Kafr Kanna
 Kafr Nafah
 Kafr Nafah
 Kafr Danna
 Bar'am A/B
 Kafr Kanna
 Kafr Kanna
 Kafr Kama
 Kal'at Kalota
 Kal'at Sim'an
 Kalb Lauzeh
 Korykos
 Kalota
 Khirbet Kanef
 Kanawat
 Khirbet Kanef
 Kanlidorvane
 Kanlidorvane

Kanytilideis
 Kaoussie
 Kapernaum
 Kapharnaum
 Karaze
 Karmil
 Kasr il-Mudakhkhin
 Kasr Ibn Wardan
 Kasr el 'Abd
 Kasr Iblisu
 Kasyoun
 Kaubab el Hawa
 Kayseri
 Kefar Yasif
 Kefar Bilus
 Kefar Qarnaim
 Kefar Nahum
 Kefar Bilu
 Kefar Niburaya
 Kefar Bir'am
 Kefar Hananyah
 Kefar Neburaya
 Kefar Shiloah
 Kefar El-Ma
 Kefar Bar'am
 Kefar Truman
 Kefer Hananya
 Kefr Bir'im
 Kefr Zeh
 Kefr Al Ma'
 Kefr Berein
 Kefr Danna
 Kefr Nabo
 Kefr Lab
 Kefr Finsheh
 Kefr Hauwar
 Kefr Kila
 Kefr Natakh
 Kemah
 Keniset er-Ra'Wat
 Kerratin
 Kfar Tanhum
 Kfellusin
 Kfer el-Makr

Kanlidiwane
 Kaoussie
 Kefar Nahum
 Kefar Nahum
 Korazim
 Khirbet Karmil
 Kasr il-Mudakhkhin
 Kasr Ibn Wardan
 Kasr el 'Abd
 Kasr Iblisu
 Qazyon
 Kokav ha-Yarden
 Caesarea (Cappadocia)
 Kefar Yasif
 Kefar Bilu
 Tel Menora
 Kefar Nahum
 Kefar Bilu
 Nabratein A/B
 Bar'am A/B
 Kefar Hananyah
 Nabratein A/B
 Shiloh
 Kefr Al-Ma'
 Bar'am A/B
 Kefar Truman
 Kefer Hananya
 Bar'am A/B
 Kefr Zeh
 Kefr Al Ma'
 Bar'am A/B
 Kefr Danna
 Kefr Nabo
 Kefr Lab
 Kefr Finsheh
 Kefr Hauwar
 Kefr Kila
 Kefr Nafah
 Ani
 Keniset er-Ra'Wat
 Tartia
 Kefar Nahum
 Kfellusin
 Kfar el-Makr

Kfer
 Khan Bandak
 Khan el-Ahmar
 Kharab Shems
 Kharab il Meshhed
 Khirbel el-Kirmil
 Khirbet Siyar

Khirbet Siyar el-Ghanam

Khirbet Siya
 Khirbet Umm er-Rus
 Khirbet Umm Jarrar
 Khirbet Umm el 'Amed
 Khirbet Tizin
 Khirbet Suweikeh
 Khirbet Semmaka
 Khirbet Ruheibe
 Khirbet Mahoz
 Khirbet Malhata
 Khirbet Mejdal el Ba'a

Khirbet Yarin
 Khirbet Umm Tiran
 Khirbet Sheeri
 Khirbet Sandahanna
 Khirbet Saleh
 Khirbet Siloah
 Khirbet Hanita
 Khirbet ed-Duweir
 Khirbet ed-Dor
 Khirbet ed-Damon
 Khirbet Damon
 Khirbet ed-Jof
 Khirbet el-Hadatha
 Khirbet el-Kureitein
 Khirbet El Karak
 Khirbet el 'Inab
 Khirbet el-Hubeila
 Khirbet Carmel
 Khirbet Bism
 Khirbet Al-Karak
 Khirbet al'Anab
 Khirbet Abu Ghunneim

Kfer
 Ad-Danqalia
 Khan el-Ahmar
 Kseidjbe
 Kharab il Meshhed
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Siyar
 el-Ghanam A/B
 Khirbet Siyar
 el-Ghanam A/B
 Khirbet Siya
 Khirbet Umm er-Rus
 Khirbet Umm Jarrar
 Khirbet Ammudim
 Khirbet Tizin
 Khirbet Suweikeh
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Rehovot in Negev
 Khirbet Mahoz
 Khirbet Kuseifa
 Khirbet Medschdel
 ElBa'a
 Khirbet Yarin
 Khirbet Khoreisa
 Navi Shari
 Mareisha
 Ramat Rahel
 Shiloh
 Hanita
 Khirbet ed-Duweir
 Khirbet ed-Dor
 Khirbet Damon
 Khirbet Damon
 Khirbet ed-Jof
 Khirbet el-Hadatha
 Khirbet el-Kureitein
 Beth Yerah
 'Agur
 Khirbet el-Hubeila
 Khirbet Karmil
 Khirbet Bism
 Beth Yerah
 'Agur
 Khirbet Abu Ghunneim

Khirbet 'Abda
 Khirbet Arisbulias
 Khirbet 'Asida
 Khirbet Beth Bad
 Khirbet Bet Namim
 Khirbet Beit 'Ainun
 Khirbet el-Mird
 Khirbet el-Murassas
 Khirbet Jurfa
 Khirbet Jalil
 Khirbet Kafr Sibb
 Khirbet Istabul
 Khirbet 'Irma
 Khirbet Kabara
 Khirbet Karmil
 Khirbet Kuseifa
 Khirbet Kufin
 Khirbet Koreisa
 Khirbet il-Khatib
 Khirbet Hubeila
 Khirbet Galil
 Khirbet er-Rus
 Khirbet er-Ras
 Khirbet en-Nitla
 Khirbet Garait
 Khirbet Gararit
 Khirbet Hass
 Khirbet Hasan
 Khirbet Ghanaim
 Khirbet Luqa
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Khirbet Sema
 Khirbet Rafid
 Khirbet Shema'
 Khirbet Shura
 Khirbet Shora
 Khirbet Qoshet
 Khirbet Zamimra
 Khirbet Natef
 Khirbet Marus
 Khirbet Nathef
 Khirbet Nator
 Khirbet Ofrat
 Khirbet Abu Amir

Abde
 Khirbet Arisbulias
 Khirbet 'Asida
 Khirbet Um er-Rus
 'Ozem
 Khirbet Beit 'Ainun
 Khirbet el-Mird
 Khirbet el-Murassas
 Roglit
 Khirbet Galil
 Bahan
 Khirbet Aristobulias
 Kefar Truman
 Nahal Tanninim
 Khirbet Karmil
 Khirbet Kuseifa
 Khirbet Kufin
 Khirbet Koreisa
 Khirbet il-Khatib
 Khirbet Hubeila
 Khirbet Galil
 Khirbet er-Rus
 Kefar Truman
 Khirbet en-Nitla
 Khirbet Umm Jarrar
 Khirbet Umm Jarrar
 Khirbet Hass
 Khirbet Hasan
 Khirbet Ghanaim
 Khirbet Luqa
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Khirbet Sema
 Horvat Rafid
 Khirbet Sema
 Khirbet Shura
 Khirbet Shura
 Horvat Qoshet
 Zumemira
 Horvat Bet Netofa
 Khirbet Marus
 Horvat Bet Netofa
 Khirbet Nator
 Horvat Ofrat
 Khirbet Abu Amir

Khirbet Umm er-Ramamin
 Khirbet Tieba
 Khirbet Sousieh
 Khirbet Tiriha
 Khirbet Tiriya
 Khirbet Umm al-'Amed
 Khirbet Susiyye
 Khirbet Susiyeh
 Khirbet Semmaka
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Susiyah
 Khirbet Susiye
 Khirbet Kermel
 Khirbet Qasyun
 Khirbet Asalyia
 Khirbet Ammudim
 Khirbet as-Seh-Ishaqiya
 Khirbet Aziz
 Khirbet Daliya
 Khirbet al-'Uqeiba
 Khirbet al-Muntar
 Khirbet Abu-esh Sheba
 Khirbet al-Ishaqiya
 Khirbet al-Karek
 Khirbet al-'Ma'in
 Khirbet Karmil
 Khirbet Daliyat
 Khirbet Hebra
 Khirbet Irvil
 Khirbet et-Tayyibe
 Khirbet er-Ras
 Khirbet Durusiya
 Khirbet Dubil
 Khirbet el-'Uzeiz
 Khirbet Kanef
 Khirbet Karak
 Khirbet Karaza
 Khirbet Karazeh
 Khirbet Devela
 Khisfin
 Khurebat
 Kibbutz Magen
 Kibbutz Hephzibah
 Kitzrin

Horvat Rimmon
 Khirbet Tieba
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Tiriha
 Khirbet Tiriya
 Khirbet Ammudim
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Susiya
 Khirbet Kermel
 Qazyon
 Khirbet Asaliya
 Khirbet Ammudim
 Horvat al-Ishaqiya
 Kefar Aziz
 Horvat Daliya
 'Aqbara
 Khirbet Nator
 Beersheba
 Horvat al-Ishaqiya
 Bet Yerah
 Ma'on
 Khirbet Karmil
 Horvat Daliya
 Horvat Habra
 Arbel
 Horvat Ofrat
 Asdod
 Horvat Midras
 Khirbet Devela
 Kefar Aziz
 Khirbet Kanef
 Beth Yerah
 Korazim
 Korazim
 Khirbet Devela
 Hisfin
 Khurebat
 Magen
 Beth Alpha
 Qasrin

Kiz Kalessi	Korykos
Kizi Kilise	Sivrihisar
Klisura	Klisura
Koja Kalissi	Alahan Manrastir
Kokanaya	Kokanaya
Kokav ha-Yarden	Kokhav ha-Yarden
Kokav al-Hawa	Kokhav ha-Yarden
Kokav Hayarden	Kokhav ha-Yarden
Konjub	Konjub
Korazim	Korazim
Korazin	Korazim
Korykos	Korykos
Koussie	Kaoussie
Ksar Er Zit	Siagu
Ksedjbeh	Ksedjbeh
Kseidjbe	Kseidjbe
Kseidjbe	Ksedjbeh
Kubrikhah	Qabriha
Kubuka	Qabriha
Kucuk Buyungu	Kucuk Guyungu
Kurmel	Khirbet Karmil
Kurnub	Mamshet
Lahav	Horvat Rimmon
Latrun	Latrun
Lawieh	Lawiya
Lawiya	Lawiya
Lawiyye	Lawiya
Le Kef	Le Kef
Lechaion	Lecharon, (Corinth)
Lecharon	Lecharon
Lepeis Magna	Tripolitana
Lesbos	Lesbos
Lichnos (?)	Magen
Lod	Yavne
Lubben	Lubben
Lucino	Lucino
Ludden	Ludden
Lydda	Yavne
Ma'in	Ma'on
Ma'in	Ma'in (Jordan)
Ma'on	Ma'in (Jordan)
Ma'on	Ma'on
Ma'oz Hayyim	Ma'oz Hayyim
Ma'chouka	Ma'chouka

Ma'ramaya
 Ma'rata
 Madaba
 Magen
 Mambre
 Mampsis
 Mamre
 Mamshet
 Mamshit
 Mar Gabriel
 Mar Yagub
 Mareisha
 Maresh
 Maresha
 Mareshah
 Mariamlik
 Marisa
 Marot
 Marsa Susa
 Marusinac
 Masada
 Mastaba
 Mastichari
 Mazra'at Qanaf
 Mazra'at Qunetira
 Mazra'at Kanef
 Medaba
 Meiron
 Meriamlike
 Meron
 Meryemlik
 Meryemlik
 Mesembria
 Mesembria
 Mi'ilya
 Mi'rayeh
 Michmash
 Midjleyya
 Migdal
 Miletus
 Mir'rayeh
 Miriamlik
 Mishmar Ha'emek
 Misis

Ma'ramaya
 Ma'rata
 Madaba
 Magen
 Hebron
 Mamshit
 Hebron
 Mamshit
 Mamshit
 Aartamin
 Nisisbis
 Mareisha (not Maresha)
 Maresha
 Maresha
 Maresha
 Miriamlik
 Maresha
 Khirbet Marus
 Apollonia
 Salona
 Masada
 Beth Shean A/B
 Mastichari
 Kirbet Kanef
 Mazra'at Qunetira
 Khirbet Kanef
 Madaba
 Meron
 Meriamlik
 Meron
 Miriamlik
 Miriamlik
 Nessebar
 Nessebar
 Mi'ilya
 Mir'rayeh
 Mukhmas
 Midjleyya
 Migdal
 Miletus
 Mir'rayeh
 Miriamlik
 Mishmar Ha'emek
 Mopsuestia

Misis	Mopsuestia
Mismiye	Musmiya
Mitspe-Shivta	Mitspe-Shivta
Mopsuestia	Mopsuestia
Motsa	Motza
'Motza	Motza
Mount Nebo	Ras as-Siaghu
Mount Hor	Mount Hor
Mount Gerizim	Gerizim
Mount Garazim	Gerizim
Mount of Olives	Jerusalem-Eleona
Mousmieh	Musiya
Mren	Mren
Mshabbak	Mshabbak
Mu'allak	Mu'allak
Mughr el-Kheit	Al-Maghar
Muhmas	Mukhmas
Mukhmas	Mukhmas
Musmiya	Musmiya
Na'ana	Na'ana
Na'aneh	Na'ana
Na'arah	Na'ana
Na'aram	Na'aran
Na'aran	Na'aran
Naarah	Na'aran
Nabaraya	Nabratein A/B
Nabi Thari	Navi Thari
Nabratein	Nabratein A/B
Nahal Tanninim	Nahal Tanninim
Nahar el-Zarqa	Nahal Tanninim
Naples	Nola
Naples	Naples
Naro	Naro
Nave	Nawe'
Naveh	Nawe'
Nawa	Nawe'
Nawe	Nawe'
Nawe'	Nawe'
Nazareth	Nazareth
Nea Anchialos	Nea Achialos
Nebratein	Nabratein A/B
Nesana	'Auja el Hafir
Nesembria	Nessebar
Nessebar	Nessebar

Neverya	Nabratein A/B
Nevoraya	Nabratein A/B
Ni'ana	Na'ana
Niana	Na'ana
Nicaea	Nicaea
Nicomedia	Nicomedia
Nicopolis	'Imwas
Nikopolis, Dumetios Basilica	Nikopolis,Basilica A
Nimreh	Nimreh
Nirim	Ma'on
Nisisbis	Nisisbis
Nizzana	'Auja el Hafir
Noarah	Na'aran
Noarath	Na'aran
Nola	Nola
Nuriyeh	Muriyeh
Orleansville	Orleansville
Orontes Island	Orontes Island
Ostia	Ostia
Ostia	Ostia
'Ozem	'Ozem
'Ozem	'Ozem
Padua	Padua
Pamukkale	Hieropolis
Panaghia	Tamarza
Parenzo	Poret
Paros	Paros
Pehura	Fahura
Pekiin	Peqi'in
Peqi'in	Peqi'in
Pequi'in	Peqi'in
Perge	Perge
Pernushtitsu	Ferustica
Perustica	Perustica
Philippi	Philippi
Pirdop	Pirdop
Pola	Pula
Poret	Poret
Priene	Priene
Ptghavank	Ptghavank
Ptghghni	Ptghavank
Ptolemais	Toleita
Pula	Pula
Qabriha	Qabriha

Qadiriya
 Qal'at el Husn
 Qalaat el Mudig
 Qalat Si'man
 Qalat es Salihye
 Qalat es Salihye
 Qalb Lozeh
 Qalûnya
 Qaqun
 Qartamin
 Qartamin
 Qasr el Benat
 Qasr Ibrim
 Qasrin
 Qasyun
 Qazyon
 Qision
 Qisrin
 Qisyon
 Qusbiya
 R'safah
 Rabbat Moab
 Rabbat Moab
 Rafid, Khirbet
 Rafid (not Horvat Rafid)
 Raheiba
 Rama
 Ramah
 Ramat el Khalil
 Ramat Rahel
 Ramat Aviv
 Ramet-el-Khalil
 Ras Siagha
 Ras Siegha
 Ras as Siaghu
 Ras es Siaghu
 Ravenna
 Ravenna
 Rbe'ah
 Rehov
 Rehovot
 Rehovot (Negev)
 Resafah
 Reshef

Ed-Danqalia
 Susita
 Apamea
 Qalat Si'man
 Dura-Europos
 Dura-Europos
 Kalb Lauzeh
 Motza
 Bahan
 Qartamin
 Qartamin
 Qasr el Benat
 Qasr Ibrim
 Qasrin
 Qazyon
 Qazyon
 Qazyon
 Qasrin
 Qazyon
 Qusbiya
 R'safah
 Rabbat Moab
 Rabbat Moab
 Horvat Rafid
 Rafid (Gaulanitis)
 Raheiba
 Ar-Rama
 Ar-Rama
 Hevron
 Ramat Rahel
 Ramat Aviv
 Hevron
 Ras as-Siaghu
 Ras as-Siaghu
 Ras as Siaghu
 Ras as-Siaghu
 Ravenna
 Ravenna
 Rbe'ah
 Rehov
 Peqi'in
 Rehovot in the Negev
 R'safah
 Reshef

Rihab
 Roglit
 Romagna
 Rome, Lateran Basilica
 Laterno
 Rueiha
 Ruhaiyeh
 Ruhama
 Ruweha
 Sa'ab
 Sa'alevim
 Sa'av
 Sa'ib
 Sa'sa
 Saab
 Sabha
 Sabhah
 Saddiqin
 Sadikin
 Safad
 Safafa
 Safat
 Safed
 Saffuriya
 Saffuriyye
 Safsaf
 Safsaga
 Safura
 Safuriya
 Sagalossos
 Sahnin
 Saint Pedro de Alcantara
 Saint Sergius

 Salah
 Salaminias
 Salamis
 Salbit
 Salemi
 Salm al-Golan
 Salokia
 Salona
 Salona-Kaplijuc
 Salona-Marusinac

Rihab
 Roglit
 Ravenna
 Rome, Saint Giovanni in
 Rome, Rubrika Qabriha
 Ruweha
 Ruhaiyeh
 Ruhama
 Ruweha
 Sa'av
 Sa'alevim
 Sa'av
 Sa'av
 Sasa
 Sa'av
 Sabha
 Sabhah
 Saddiqin
 Saddiqin
 Safat
 Sifsufa
 Safat
 Safat
 Sepphoris
 As-Safuriya
 Sifsufa
 Sifsufa
 As-Safuriya
 As-Safuriya
 Sagalossos
 Siknin
 Saint Pedro
 Abu Sargeh
 (Saint Giovanni)
 Salah
 Salaminias
 Salamis
 Sa'alevim
 Salemi
 Golan
 Salokia
 Salona
 Salona-Kaplijuc
 Salona-Marusinac

Salonica
 Salonika
 Samandag
 Samaria
 Sameh
 Samoa
 Sanaber
 Sanabir
 Sardis
 Sari Kilise
 Sarona
 Sasa
 Sasaf
 Sbeita
 Sche'albim
 Scheckem
 Scythopolis
 Sebaste
 Sede Nashum
 Seiloun
 Seilum
 Seilun
 Selbit
 Selebi
 Selemiyeh
 Seleucia-Pieria
 Sema, Khirbet
 Sepphoris
 Seppori
 Sequfiya
 Serdjibleh
 Sergiopolis
 Serjilla
 Shaalbim
 Shabim
 Shaib
 Shakka
 Shavei Z'ion
 Shavey
 Sheckem
 Sheikh Ibreiq
 Sheikh Bader
 Sheikh el Rihab
 Sheikh Abreiq

Salonika
 Salonika
 Seleucia-Pieria
 Samaria
 Sameh
 Eshtemoa
 Sanabir
 Sanabir
 Sardis
 Kucuk Buyungu
 Sarona
 Sasa
 Sifsufa
 Sbeita
 Sa'alevim
 Gerizim
 Beth Shean A/B
 Samaria
 Sede Nashum
 Silo
 Silo
 Silo
 Sa'alevim
 Sa'alevim
 Selemiyeh
 Seleucia-Pieria
 Khirbet Sema
 Sepphoris
 Sepphoris
 Suqufiya
 Serdjibleh
 R'safah
 Serjilla
 Sa'alevim
 Sa'alevim
 Sa'av
 Shakka
 Shavei Zion
 Shavei Zion
 Gerizim
 Beth Se'arim
 Giv'at Ram
 Rehov
 Beth Se'arim

Shekh Sleman
 Shelbit
 Shellal
 Shema, Khirbet
 Shiloah
 Shiloh
 Shiloh
 Shiloh
 Shiqmona
 Shivta
 Siagu
 Sichim
 Siddikin
 Sifsufa
 Siknin
 Silo
 Siloun
 Silwan
 Simj
 Simkhar
 Sippori
 Sitt ir-Rum
 Sivrihisar
 Sivrihisar
 Skripou
 Skufiyaa
 Skupi
 Slem
 Soasa
 Squpiyye
 Srir
 Stobi
 Stobi
 Subeita
 Sufsaf
 Suhmata
 Sukhnin
 Suluqiya
 Sumaz, Khirbet
 Summaka
 Suqufiya
 Sur
 Surkanya
 Susita
 Sussita

Shekh Sleman
 Sa'alevim
 Shellal
 Khirbet Sema
 Shiloh
 Shiloh
 Silo
 Shiqmona
 Sbeita
 Siagu
 Gerizim
 Saddiqin
 Sifsufa
 Siknin
 Silo A/B (not Shiloh)
 Silo
 Silo A/B
 Simj
 Simkhar
 Sepphoris
 Sitt ir-Rum
 Sivrihisar
 Sivrihisar
 Skripou
 Suqufiya
 Kucuk Buyungu
 Slem
 Soasa
 Suqufiya
 Srir
 Stobi
 Stobi
 Sbeita
 Sifsufa
 Suhmata
 Siknin
 Qusibya
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Khirbet Sumaq
 Suqufiya
 Tyre
 Surkanya
 Susita
 Susita

Talinn
 Talish
 Talish
 Tabarka
 Tabgha
 Tafas
 Tafha
 Tail Seilum
 Taiyebe
 Taiyiba
 Tall al Gurn
 Tamarza
 Tanhum
 Tantura
 Tarragona
 Teil Seilum
 Tekor
 Tel Maresha
 Tel Menora
 Teleda
 Tell Hassan
 Tell Kumun
 Tell Istaba
 Tell Sandakhanna
 Tell Mastaba
 Tell Hum
 Tell es-Sawa
 Tell er-Ras
 Tell 'Akibrin
 Tell es-Seba
 Tell 'Akibrin
 Tell Basul
 Tell Harube
 Tell Bani
 Tell es Sarim
 Tell Asquelon
 Tell es-Sultan
 Tell es-Sarum
 Tell Halif
 Tell Qasile
 Tell Menora
 Tell Abu Faraj
 Tell of Gaza
 Tellun

Tallinn
 Talish
 Talish
 Tabarka
 et-Tabgha
 Tafas
 Tafha
 Shiloah
 Horvat Ofrat
 Taiyiba
 Jericho
 Tamarza
 Kefar Nahum
 Dor
 Tarragona
 Shiloh
 Tekor
 Maresha
 Tel Menora
 Teleda
 Jericho-Tell Hassan
 Yoqne'an
 Beth Shean A/B
 Maresha
 Beth Shean A/B
 Kefar Nahum
 Tell es-Sawa
 Ras as-Siagh
 Tell 'Akibrin
 Tell es-Seba
 Tell 'Akibrin
 Tell Basul
 Gaza A
 Gader
 Rehov
 Asquelon
 Jericho
 Rehov
 Horvat Rimmon
 Tell Qasile
 Tel Menora
 Tel Menora
 Gaza A/B
 Tellun

Teqoa'	Khirbet Sema1
Thantia	Beth Gamul
Thella	Jassud Hammale
Thibilis	Thibilis
Thousand and One Churches	Binkirkilisse
Thousand and One Churches	Binkirkilisse
Tiberias	Tiberias A/B
Tiberias	Hammath Teverya
Tibessa	Tipasa?
Tiburtina	Tiburtina
Tipasa	Tipasa
Tipasa (?)	Tafas
Tirat Zvi	Tel Menora
Tolmeita	Tolmeita
Tomarza	Tomarza
Trier	Trier
Tripolitana	Tripolitana
Tulel Farwana	Rehov
Tulul Farwana	Rehov
Tyre	Tyre
Umm er-Rus	Khirbet Umm er-Rus
Umm el Jamal	Umm Idj-Djimal
Umm ez Surab	Umm es Surab
Umm il Kutten	Umm il Kutten
Umm is Snench	Umm is Snench
Umm idj Djimal	Umm idj Djimal
Umm Qeis	Gader
Umm Jarrar	Khirbet Umm Jarrar
Umm it Tuweneh	Umm it Tuweneh
Umm al-'Amad	Khirbet Ammudim
Umm el-Kanatir	Umm al Qanatir
Umm al-Qanatir	Umm al Qanatir
Umm Qes	Gader
Umm el 'Amed	Khirbet Ammudim
Umm al-Kanatir	Umm al-Qanatir
Umta'iyeh	Umta'iyeh
Umta'yeh	Umta'iyeh
Urfa	Edessa
Usa	Usha
'Usfiya	'Isfiya
Usha	Usha
'Uyun	Uyun
Vavron	Vavron
Vega del Mar	Alcanatara

Vegharshapat
 Veneto
 Venice
 Vercelli
 Verona
 Vincolli
 Wadi er-Rawabe
 Ya'rabiya
 Yabneh
 Yafa
 Yafia
 Yahudiya
 Yahudiyye
 Yaphia
 Yatta
 Yavne
 Yavne
 Yerka
 Yesud ha-ma'ala
 Yesud
 Yirka
 Yoqne'am
 Zebed
 Zefat
 Zerzita
 Zippori
 Zorah
 Zumaimira
 Zumemira
 Zvart'nots

Vegharshapat
 Aquileia
 Venice
 Vercelli
 Verona
 Vincolli
 Wadi er-Rawabe
 Yahudiya
 Yavne
 Yafia
 Yafia
 Yahudiya
 Yahudiya
 Yafia
 Khirbet Karmil
 Yavne
 Yavne
 Yirka
 Jassud Hammale
 Jassud Hammale
 Yirka
 Yoque'am
 Zebed
 Safat
 Zerzita
 Sepphoris
 Zorah
 Zumemira
 Zumemira
 Zvart'nots

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Social Controls Over Knowledge

The images portrayed in cult sites are, then, not merely images but symbols of the form and structure of the society that created them. Decoration is never "merely decoration" nor is it therefore meaningless. Rather, motif selection follows an established iconographic system. These systems are formal: certain images were put in specific places in the site. They were employed, in those places, as referents in any number of symbolic codes anchored to the social hierarchy prevailing in the cult. To ensure the integrity and longevity of these systems, the necessary knowledge of the vocabulary and syntax of such a code would have been learned in a social environment where there were strong controls over behaviour and social values. The strength of the social envelope in the cult community is evident in the regulating mechanisms and the hierarchical structures which pervade these sites. Socially (and sacrally) ambitious persons would have found it necessary to conform to elitist norms in order to gain access to their unique forms of communication and from these circles to gain power to move in divine realms.

The interpretations of iconic codes were complex, making it possible for religious authorities to inform and control their metaphorical associations. If this is so, the nature of the social and doctrinal controls in these religious

communities can be analyzed more closely. In **Cultural Bias**, Douglas (1978) studied the mechanisms by which independent individualists (specifically hermits) operate in different social contexts. These "contexts" are, in her model, cosmological types which predispose the treatment of hermits and other individualists in different social environments. The extent of individual autonomy and social behaviour are measured along two sliding scales. The first measures group pressure to conform, which she names "strong group". The second is "strong grid" or the ability of the social system to impose its own "normative" character on the predominant categories of social status and role specialization as well as the mechanisms of resource control and conflict resolution. In a high group society, which also has a strong grid characteristics, social boundaries are constricting: an individual gains identity and social placement from the group. Group pressure, and ultimately group leadership, controls individual behaviour. Groups themselves are organized hierarchically, allowing for internal specialization and the unequal distribution of resources. There may be a plethora of solutions to conflicts and various mechanisms for movement up and down in the hierarchy. This type of society can perpetuate itself beyond the lifetime of a single generation by levying members for capital investment and cult buildings represent a major investment typical of high grid/high group contexts (Douglas 1987:19-21).

In our review of the architecture of cult buildings in our sample, we find evidence for an hierarchical viewpoint and mechanisms for controlling

movement between sacred and profane places on the site. Over and over again, we find reiteration of an highly organized system of containment and regulated transition between places in the hierarchy. If Douglas' results can be applied to our analysis of the site, we can conclude that differences in categories in the social sphere were diligently circumscribed and that the systems of ranking therein were controlled by explicit requirements. However, there remained at all times the element of continuity which permitted movement between different parts of the building and different ranks in the social hierarchy. This framework, together with use of special facilities and the restriction of caretaking to specially-endowed persons, created ripe ground for the ambitious members of an elite to situate themselves near the top of the hierarchy, suitably close to heaven.

5.1 Site Similarity and Religious Authority

Restricted code is a tool for those aspiring to gain or hold religious authority and social power. From this viewpoint, material culture is a record, however incomplete and ambiguous, of the images which make up such a restricted code. In the first chapter of this dissertation we reported on experimental work in which similarities between cult sites could be mapped into general regions. Although our culture region hypothesis¹⁵⁶ can and does exist independently of Douglas' work

¹⁵⁶The reader is reminded that the work in defining culture regions was beset with enough methodological problems and significant gaps in field reports that its

on cosmological bias, we can, for the moment, bring these two theories together and walk even further down the path toward understanding of these ancient cult communities.

When examining culture regions, we sought to measure the degrees of conformity between sites. When similar sites were mapped, they formed regional patterns. In mapping these configurations, and testing evidence for the social networks which governed them, we found that our sites reflected regional patterns of difference and similarity that did not conform to confessional, administrative or geological boundaries. Furthermore, those descriptive profiles were polythetic so that classification of sites can only be carried out with a complex and multi-dimensional set of diagnostic markers. Site conformity involved measuring selection patterns available from a wide but not unlimited repertoire of coin, architecture, site situation, inscription and iconographic attributes, all of which can be interpreted as communication forms. Some of those suggest restricted codes. Despite the potential for chaos in this mass of data, in preliminary study, we hypothesized that patterned conformity from site to site may reflect culture regions.

results are experimental at best. To this point, I have deliberately not referred to that work while looking at the interpretive possibilities in the art. Nevertheless, the possibility that regional cores may form *nuclei* for restricted iconographic code is a potential working hypothesis. Just how those regions ought to be defined, and what the particular dialects of their iconic codes might be, is material for more experimental work in cluster analysis after the methodological problems have been overcome.

Among the social implications of culture regions is the possibility that the patterns of conformity may be evidence of the reach of particular persons or groups who are segments in the local hierarchies of power. Patterns of artifactual similarity may reflect the success of leadership's efforts to dictate, extend and preserve their own version of order and continuity in that portion of ancient cult society which they controlled. Our picture of the nature of society under such constraints can be drawn more clearly with help, again, from the anthropological work of Mary Douglas.

In the process of studying the dynamics of individual autonomy, she classified cosmologies along two dimensions: society's power to enforce conformity (group impact) and the relative intrusiveness or visibility of the organizing principles of society (grid). In Douglas' view, where the social context is typically strong-group and high-grid, a powerful elite will yield a close constraint over its own "complex metaphors of symmetry, inequality and hierarchical status". In **Purity and Danger**, Douglas argued that:

With strong grid and group, there is the tendency to take the intellectual categories which the fixed social categories require as if they were God-given eternal truths. The mind is tied hand and foot, so to speak, bound by the socially generated categories of culture. No other alternative view of reality seems possible. A small shift in the definitions is anathema and worth protecting with bloodshed. Anomaly is abhorrent. In such a system, the purity code has set up a strong distinction between the private and the public and its wider implications are irresistible. Here the eruption of the organic into the social domain is most dangerous, to be purified with ritual. The individual in transition from one social status to another is like matter out of place, impure and to be ritually re-integrated (Douglas 1970:174)

Religious leadership in such a cosmological system can impose a closed education system and, by closely governing religious ritual, enforce their expectations of behavioural conformity, all of which leads to strong similarity between those sites which accepted their authority.

To meet this purpose, the ability to control iconographic selection on cult sites would have been an important strategy. We know, according to the records preserved by rabbis and ecclesiastical authorities, there were strong concerns about images in public cult buildings, and, indeed, we find sites which not only scorned the use of images, but removed or "defaced" those which were pre-existing on the site¹⁵⁷. To decline, deface, or denounce images already available in the artistic repertoire of cult sites was to conform to the iconographic symbol system ordered by a leadership which had significant reasons to keep images out of the artistic repertoire of the site.

Some culture regions configurations have very high similarity and strong conformity between sites. They share many characteristics of material culture. In these cases, and despite polythetic variance, many characteristics were selected **In common**, this from an even wider variety which was available for assemblages of the region. This selection yielded high similarity in architecture, site situation, inscriptions and art. Site-to-site conformity that persists across a broad repertoire of available images and throughout the artifact assemblages is strong evidence for

¹⁵⁷See for example the defacement in the zodiac at Na'aran [054], the pavement at Qasrin [059] and the lintel at Kefar Nahum [042].

the view that the high-grid, strong-group cosmology was system-wide and endemic to social life in and around these cult sites. It would appear that in some regions, cult constituents and/or their leadership frowned on site-to-site uniqueness and the attendant risk of creative innovation implied therein. The sites show that they were able to enforce their views. The edges of these configurations may represent the extent of influence for leaderships who were suspicious of innovation and imposed conformity as a condition of authority.

In contrast to these areas in which a tightly controlled pattern of high similarity and wide site-to-site conformity, we found other cultural configurations having highly unique community-based places of worship. Sites in this configuration are also highly opportunistic with respect to the available possibilities for architecture and art, but the number of artifactual attributes **in common** from site to site is very limited. Sites differ significantly from their immediate neighbours. Individual sites may be ebullient in the variety of attributes in both kinds of configurations but weaker similarity between neighbouring sanctuaries indicates a leadership tolerant of differences. For the cult sites from a cultural context of unique site-to-site motif selection, their religious authorities appear to have encouraged highly variable expression in the symbolic repertoire, and may have been more secure and less wary of risking their position.

Thus, the site evidence shows us that the symbolisms of local cult communities were only apparently chaotic: rather, they were organized in a manner suggestive of and conducive to the nature of social authority which, we

have speculated, is wielded by a learned elite specializing in the exercise of religious power. In this hierarchical world where the Sacred is a little known and fearful domain, ordinary folk would have been more than willing to accept religious specialists as representatives and advocates in these matters. Whether they be rabbinic scholars or ecclesiastical bishops, as travellers in holy places, these specialists would be welcomed and by extension revered as holy persons. By excelling in their performance, religious practitioners were ideally positioned to take for themselves a powerful role in social and political authority. Indeed, their success has left undoubted and indelible marks in the historical libraries of both Christian and Jewish faith communities.

5.2 Ancient Religious Life In Late Roman and Early Byzantine Palestine

We have moved a great distance from the dirt, stone and bits of *tesserae* typical of a cult site excavation and, in doing so, have demonstrated that the roads of inference into the social and cultural world of ancient cult communities are many. Clearly, it is not a requirement that we interpret these sites under the governance of rabbinic or ecclesiastical dictates, nor is it necessary to begin or end all of our explorations along the roads of their learning. The common ground between Christian and Jewish canonical libraries, other textual sources and the archaeological data we have accumulated here is found in a pattern of carefully structured integration between all components of the social and religious world. This framework for religious significance permits us to include the religious and

social "winners", but also to find the prints of otherwise silent "losers" who may have left their mark in the ancient public cult site. Most importantly, we have some understanding of the social patterns of interaction that governed the normal comings and goings associated with religious life. These ancient worlds were stabilized by regulated portals and hierarchical relationships wherein order is preserved by protecting knowledge so that it appears to be outwardly public but is kept secret except to qualified persons. The apparent stability of religious life lends a tone of unity and security, helping to check and balance the patterns of eternal conflict raised in the macroscopic models drawn from confessional histories.

The culture regions which were discovered in this research are representative of different ways of religious life in different parts of ancient Palestine. In each of the two, and possibly three, regions hypothesized for these sites, cult site participants used coins differently and when commissioning building projects, selected architectural characteristics differently. We found that sites in different areas commemorated themselves, their families and professional colleagues. In different parts of the country, religious communities situated their places in worship in close relationship to the urban environment, but the activities in that environment differed from region to region. We also discovered that the selection of art forms was in fact highly differentiated with patterns changing from one area to another.

The reasons for the patterns of similarity within regions and difference between them can, for the present, only be known on a speculative basis. It may be that the different material culture patterns in Uplands and Lowlands configurations are symptomatic of economic habits or timelines which have yet to be discovered. There were, almost certainly, social differences which arose out of the nature of hierarchical relationships in each region. By focusing our attention solely on cult sites, it is difficult to gain some conception of the macroscopic cultural forms, but from such a selection, we have been able to demonstrate that culture regions may have existed, and to show where they were situated. As to what the regions might mean, it is very difficult to speculate on the basis of this limited series of studies concentrating on cult sites. Such a task goes far beyond the mandate established under the problematic of this thesis. In order to transform an hypothetical culture "region" into a confirmed culture "area", other types of structures will have to be closely studied and many more people will have to be involved in the investigative process.

5.3 Widening Our Definitions of Religion and Culture

If there is a sense in the reader of whetted appetite, of incompleteness and of roads only approached and not taken, then this work has served its purpose. Our intent was (1) to provide a conceptual framework that could enhance our ability to understand the full range of religious significances of public cult sites and their artifacts and (2) to inspire fresh research in new and creative directions,

rather than to simply replicate older practices. To that end, we sought to locate ourselves on a foundation of society and religion which encourages independent interpretation of both material and textual remains such that the analytical categories of one field of inquiry does not dominate the other. The textual remains were then set aside and this research concentrated on the site data. From this crossroad, a number of working hypotheses, related first to the study of groupings of sites and then to groups of artifacts, have opened up for us a burgeoning, highly varied range of possibilities for future work.

We have learned that cult life, even in ancient times, was a complicated aspect of social life and that any adequate explanation of the material remains of that life cannot be simple. Our study of the material remains brought into our view three distinct territories which may be culture regions. Each has its own distribution pattern of coins, architecture, situation, inscriptions and art forms, all of which can be described in considerable detail. The Lowland, Upland and Galilean areas do not confirm to historical, political or confessional boundaries, although the cores of these regions correspond very roughly to the ancient cultural senses attached to Judea, Samaria and Galilee. The territorial organization is quite clear, although more work needs to be done to sort out the chronological trends in these areas. For archaeological data, therefore, there may be greater validity, in speaking in territorial terms rather than following the paradigms typical of the surviving literature.

The territorial alignment on any one site, however, is also very complex. Few sites are "purely" of one pattern in their artifact selection. Excavators on a given site may find coins typical of one regional configuration and architecture from another. These finds replicate the overall cultural pattern which balances off the forces of division, exclusivity and hierarchy against careful avenues of integration, disclosure and apparent openness.

Having examined the general profile of cult site finds, we turned to a specific examination of particular types of artifacts which are widely reported and typical of many cult sites in ancient Palestine. Money was handled on ancient cult sites. Some sites were involved in imperial currency interchange while others are not. In fact, the latter dominate our sample. We find synagogues more prevalent among those sites which do produce coins, but these artifacts may be found in the form of either hoards or scatters. The *bema* was used for safe storage of such collections, but the people who sealed coin deposits, often in the form of hoards, show an intriguing preference for the western corridor outside of the nave. These find patterns need to be made explicit for the general audience of those who study ancient religion.

There are only a limited number of types of water containers on these sites. Stepped pools provide facilities for personal and ritual hygiene, while cisterns were used for water storage. Generally, both permanent and portable water containers designed for hygiene were separate installations at the periphery of liturgical activity. If they were used in liturgical activity, they were most likely temporary

reservoirs used in a peripheral or preparatory role. If the stepped pools were, in fact, subterranean baths, then they are associated with the richly complex images of entry, exit, dying, re-birth and the flow of water. Symbols included caves, graves, tombs, wells and springs.

We examined the patterns of disclosure between the site and its environment and within the site itself. Most sacred spaces appear to be places private to ritual activity. The degree of control exerted by the architecture on personnel traffic within the site is considerable. There is, however, a strong sense of connection and integration between the site and its domestic or commercial urban environment. To preserve order in such an environment, and to maintain the distinctness of sacred places, privacy within the cult site is maintained by a series of encoded overlays which protect the symbolic meaning of images in the cult place. These sites are outwardly public and their surface interpretations appear to be certain and clear. In concealing their knowledge, the ancient *virtuosi* have been eminently successful. They were able to establish a respected social niche and authoritative leadership in matters religious, while hiding the stuff of private and secret intercourse in an iconic language that was multi-layered, allegorical and highly symbolic.

We have hypothesized that the staff facilities of cult sites were ripe environments for the establishment of an elitist religious community. Within that elite, a religious education could foster students who would emerge as adepts with significant religious and social authority. We examined, in the architecture and in

the art, the critical role of the threshold which marks the division between sacred and mundane parts of the social universe. These persons educated and skilled at exploiting the possibilities of travel between these dimensions would be able to dispense, in a controlled flow, the secret truths associated with divine authority and power.

The inscriptions show that religious perceptions of the deity were integrated into social and familial aspects of life. The social relationship is an hierarchy of power and authority under the deity. The relationship is dependent rather than contractual. Families and a varied collection of occupations and professions represent a broad, community power-base beyond the religious leaders who acted under cult authority. Language selection in the inscriptions suggests that tradesmen and family interactions were likely to be in Aramaic and Hebrew. Greek was used for the administrative and familial relationships and also appears as very prevalent in cult context, whether the site be a synagogue or a church.

The iconic language of these sites is particularly fascinating. Symbols manifest a vocabulary associated with active images of transition between realms where things are never quite what they appear to be. Underneath the apparently direct and otherwise innocuous meanings associated with public display there may well be a well-disguised multiplicity of conceptual structures. The basic repertoire of images include geometric forms, the frame (which combines several types of images), flora, animals, birds and tools. There are regional differences in the selection and range of these principle iconic types. Interconnected mats of

conventionalized design, rather than free-form improvisation, are typical. The designs are connected, regulated and although prolific, they are not random.

In order to make "sense out of nonsense", we were able to isolate clusters of images which indicate the existence of a precise lexicon, the meanings for which would be particular to the social (possibly ethnic and/or religious) group in which it circulated. The absence of creative individualism in motif selection and arrangement (although it can be said to be present frequently enough in actual artistic execution) suggests a finite iconic vocabulary associated with habitual arrangements in designated places which are themselves meaningful according to the educated viewer. The public display of such images, and the general lack of direction in the "private" places of the site, suggest that education in religious matters was the province of a class of *virtuosi* who took on the responsibility and authority associated with religious leadership.

5.4 So Where Do We Go From Here?

The new areas of study which have been raised as a result of this work fall into two related areas. The first deals with the subject of inquiry, namely the ancient cult life of the Roman and Byzantine periods. The other has to do with the tools and techniques which could be incorporated into such a study in order to extend the range of present knowledge.

5.4.1 Further Inquiries Into Ancient Religious Life

We need to draw more information from this sample about the chronological correlations which might prevail. The historical periodization, which associates construction of cult buildings with entire centuries, is clumsy, far too imprecise and can lead to inaccurate assumptions about the flow of social activity throughout our period. In many cases, we know the construction date of a site. Less often we are aware of later modifications leading to construction phases and only rarely do we also know, with any certainty, the end of one or more occupations. If this data can be determined with greater precision, we may be able to use the statistical tools now available to us to ascertain correlations between construction, change or cessation of occupation and the occurrences of other artifact attributes or regional distributions. On the assumption that such data are available, we need tools to measure chronological change within and between regions.

With respect to the regional distributions, we need to draw further correlations between geographic location, a site's nearest neighbour and other correlations throughout the range of artifact attributes. We need to test various attempts to reduce the number of variables and develop more precise measures of site-to-site similarity. Across the full range of artifact types, sites showed a mixed collection of Lowland, Upland and Galilee characteristics. We need to look very closely at the question of "pure" vs. "mixed" sites to determine just how these sites were formed. Only then can we determine why such a pattern emerges.

Another potentially profitable area to investigate would be relationships between the cult building and its urban environment. This includes the building complex, which may be a staff facility. The small finds in such places are rarely reported and may tell us a lot about what life was like in dwellings immediately adjacent to the cult hall. Relationships with topographic and other natural features need to be examined thoroughly and systematically.

Finally, in many cases, we have a general orientation for the main part of the site that is relatively vague, i.e. the primary compass points. The question of a site's orientation to the larger astronomical map awaits only the precise information which is quite typical of very ancient religious sites like Stonehenge and Avebury, but which has been overlooked in the flurry to associate these sites with confessional traditions.

Individual artifact types or sets could also provide engrossing fields of research. Coin attributes are generally the field of interest of the numismatist. This highly specialized field is rarely accessible, even to field archaeologists. As a result, we know little about the correlations between coin finds, their attributes and the collection of cult site attributes. Systematic studies of correlations between specific attributes within and across artifact types, (for example, basilical site plans, coin hoards of the last half of the fifth century and Greek inscriptions, or correlates between exterior building complexes and pools, cisterns and other water containers) represent only the beginning of an intense research effort to

develop serious hypotheses about the social and cultural meanings embedded in the archaeological record of cult sites.

5.4.2 Needed Methodological Developments

Many methodological problems must yet be overcome before artificial intelligence can be used by the general population of students and scholars of ancient religious life. Most prevalent is the failure of modern scholars in these disparate disciplines to understand each other because of apparently mysterious and esoteric specialties, unwritten codes of conduct and the unwillingness or inability to shift one's mind set beyond the boundaries of discipline-specific language. Specifically, pattern-recognition can handle the volume of data typical in this kind of study but it is far too young a discipline for its language, concepts and methodology to be, even remotely, a familiar part of ordinary scholarly life. Likewise, the descriptive format familiar to field archaeologists and somewhat understood by scholars of religion, and the restricted and encoded forms of databases which are the raw material for pattern-recognition studies have yet to be concatenated into something with which all types of researchers can work. Nevertheless, we have been able, through the studies in this dissertation, to demonstrate that the mass of details which constitute material culture can be systematically dissected, studied and analyzed in a cross-disciplinary fashion. Artificial intelligence can indeed widen our perspective on the nature and form of religious life on ancient sites.

The next logical step in this research is to develop the tools which would make attribute study practical and meaningful to those who study ancient religion. We need to re-order the variables which make up the attribute list, perhaps reduce them, and then formulate a database which can be used for a variety of detailed studies including statistical techniques such as correlation, cross-tabs, factor analysis and multidimensional scaling. Few scholars in religion have expertise in these areas. There may well be a golden opportunity for co-operative ventures and cross-disciplinary work.

The question of classification and identification of cult buildings also needs to be re-examined in the context of ancient public buildings in general. We may find that cult buildings have a closer relationship to other contemporary public structures of the day than they do to the centuries-long traditions of ecclesiastical or rabbinic building programs. If that is the case, those relationships need to be made specific, explicit and unambiguous.

The exercises in analysis have shown that artificial intelligence can be used profitably where the archaeological data can meet two criteria: First, they must be put into forms for suitable for analysis and second, their patterns ought to be related clearly to some hypothesis meaningful to scholars in ancient religion. The emerging criteria represent the basis for a trans-confessional approach to data which are too often seen only as a fragmented, difficult and otherwise undifferentiated mass of detail. The images themselves become visible only when we have the eyes to see.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ACTES	Actes du Ve Congrès. International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, 1954. Studi di Antichità Christiana published 1957, as vol. 22(2) [It].
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ALON	Journal of the Israel Numismatic Society (Internal Quarterly)
ARCH	Archaeology
ASG	H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, Antike Synagogen in Galiläa , Leipzig, 1916.
ASORN	American Schools of Oriental Research, Newsletter
ASPG	E.L. Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece. Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1930. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1934.
ASR	L. Levine, ed. Ancient Synagogues Revealed Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1981.
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestinian Exploration Society
BT	Babylonian Talmud, <i>Babli</i>
BULLETIN	Bulletin of the Louis B. Rabinowitz Foundation for Synagogue Research , Hebrew University, 3 vols.
BUTLER	Butler, H.C. Early Churches in Syria , 4-7 th C, Princeton, 1929.

CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CNI	Christian News From Israel
CIJ	Frey, J.B. ed. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum: Asie-Afrique</i> , Vol. II Rome 1952
CORPUS	A. Ovadiah, Corpus of the Byzantine Churches of the Holy Land , Peter Hanstein Verlag, Bonn. 1970.
CORPUS-S1	A. Ovadiah, Supplementum To The Corpus of the Byzantine Churches of the Holy Land, Part I. <i>Levant</i> 13:200-261. figs.
DAS	Hüttenmeister and Reeg, <i>Die Antiken Synagogen en Israel</i> , 1977. Dr. Ludwig Reichert, Weisbaden, 2 vols.
DGHA	V. Guerin, <i>Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine</i> . Paris 1868, 1880, Repr. 1969. [Fr]
ECP	J.W. Crowfoot, Early Churches in Palestine . (London, 1942.) Schweich 1937 Lecture in Biblical Archaeology. Oxford University Press. repr. McGrath Pub. Co. College Park, Maryland.
EAEHL	Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations Of The Holy Land , M. Avi-Yonah ed., Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem. (Heb edition)
EAEHLe	Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations In the Holy Land (English edition), ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern. Oxford University Press and Israel Exploration Society Jerusalem 1976
EI	<i>Eretz Israel: Archaeological Historical and Geographical Studies</i> .
HA	<i>Hadashot Archaeologiot</i> , Israel Dept. of Antiquities
HANDBOOK	M.J.Chiat, Handbook of Synagogue Architecture , Brown Judaic Studies 29, Brown University Press and Scholars Press, Chico Ca. 1982.

HGP	M. Avi-Yonah, Historical Geography of Palestine from the end of the Babylonian Exile up to the Arab Conquest. Jerusalem 1964.
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JER	Jerusalem
JJA	Journal of Jewish Art
JPOS	Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society
JSJ	Journal For The Study Of Judaism In The Persian Hellenistic and Roman Periods, Brill.
JPCI	<i>S. Klein, Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus inscriptionum (Ossuar-, Grab- und Synagogen Inschriften)</i> Wein-Berlin 1920 (Reprinted Dr. H.A. Gerstenberg, R. Lowit Verlag, Hildesheim 1971)
LIBER	Liber Annus studii Biblici Franciscan
PDIAHL	<i>Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Institute für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem</i> [Ger]
PEF	Palestinian Exploration Fund Annual
PEFQ	Palestinian Exploration Fund Quarterly
PEFQSt	Palestinian Exploration Fund Quarterly, Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PT	Palestinian Talmud, Yerushalmi
QAD	<i>Qadmoniot</i>
QDAI	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Israel

QDAP	Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine.
RAO	Clermont-Ganneau, <i>Receuil d'Archèologie Orientale</i> , 8 vols. Paris, 1883-1924.
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
REG	<i>Revue études Grecques</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SRCAS	J. Saller, Second Revised Catalogue of the Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece , Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem. 1972.
SWP	C. Condor and H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology of Palestine , 3 vols. London 1881-1883 (reprinted Jerusalem 1970).
SWP-SP	C. Condor and H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers on Topography, Archaeology, Manners and Customs. etc. , London 1881.
SYMBOLS	E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Graeco Roman Era Pantheon Series, New York, Bollingen, 13 vols.
TS	<i>La Terra Santa</i>
Yediot	<i>(ZION) Bulletin of Israel Exploration Society</i>
YediotN	<i>Yediot Numismatit</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

SITE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations: see above for full references.

[] square brackets: brief annotations re: contents/relevance, language of publication.

Languages of Publication:

[Ar]	Arabic	[Ara]	Aramaic	[Fr]	French
[Ger]	German	[Gk]	Greek	[Heb]	Hebrew
[It]	Italian	[Lat]	Latin	[Syr]	Syriac

" " article titles unknown, references provided for the reader who may have access to these periodicals.

This is a working bibliography which responds to the frustration of a huge volume of sources, only a few of which are comprehensive and many of which were unobtainable despite the efforts of up to five university libraries in several Canadian cities, as well as efforts during several field trips to Jerusalem, Israel in 1981 and 1985. The order is alphabetical, following site names (i.e. the authoritative or keyword site name) in order to make possible systematic and exhaustive individual site investigation. It is recognized that some articles are repetitive with respect to the most familiar points of site description. However, the details of the artifact repertoire which are studied in this dissertation are more frequently miscellaneous asides, where they appear at all, and do not always form part of the repetitive material. Such details may appear in one citation and not another, hence all potential sources of information are included. The author has endeavored to be as complete as her resources allowed when citing the reference sources.

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Tell Asqelon

Excavations: J. Garstange, 1921, J. Ori, 1954, V. Tsaferis 1966-67

Avi-Yonah, M.

1935 " " **QDAP** 4:148-149. [lead coffins]

1961 Ascalon **BULLETIN** III:61 [menorah & pedestal].

Avi-Yonah M. and Y. Eph'al

1976 Askelon-Barnea **EAEHLe** I:130.

Avni, G., U. Dahari and A. Kloner,

1987 Ashkelon 1985-1986 **IEJ** 37#1:68-75

Garstang, J.

1921 The Fund's Excavations at Askalon **PEQ** pp. 12-16.

1921 The Excavations of Askalon **PEQ** 73-75.

1921 Askalon Reports: The Phillistine Problem **PEQ** p. 162.

1922 The Excavations of Askalon **PEQ** pp. 112-119 [site map].

1924 Askalon **PEQ** pp. 24-35.

Guerin, V.

18__ " " **Judée**, 2:135f, 153f. [Fr]

Iliffe, J.H.

1933 " " **QDAP** 2:11-14, 110-112.

1934 " " **QDAP** 3:165-66.

1936 " " **QDAP** 5:61-58 [bronze statuettes]

Mazar, B.

19__ **Enc. Miqrah** I:769-77. [Heb]

Ory, J.

1939 " " **QDAP** 8:38-44 [tombs].

- Ovadia, A.
1970 **CORPUS** p. 21.
- Perrot, J.
1955 Askalon **IEJ** 5:270-271 [Fr]. [Neolithic remains].
- Phythian-Adams, W.
1921 Askalon Reports: Stratigraphical Sections **PEQ** pp. 112-119 [site map].
- 1923 Report on the Stratification of Askalon **PEQ** pp. 60-84.
- Prawar, Y.
1959 " " **EI** 5:224-37 [Heb]
- Radan, G.
1958 Helmet Found Near Ascalon **IEJ** 8:185-188 [Neolithic war helmet].
- Rahmani, L.H.
1989 Roman Miscellanea **IEJ** 39(1/2):66-75.
- Tsaferis, V.
1967 Ashkelon-Barnea **IEJ** 17:125-126 [mosaic pavement].

Bahan [079]

- Khirbet Kafr Sibb, Qaqun

Excavations: J. Ori, 1955

Avi-Yonah, M. ed.
1976 Churches: Bahan **EAEHLe** 1:306.

Yeivin, S.
1955 *Chronique Archéologique: Édifice Chrétien Près de Khirbet Kafr Sibb* **RB** 62:83f [Fr]

Ovadia, A.
1970 **CORPUS** p.27.

Bar'am A [004]

-Birim, Kafr Bir'im, Kefar Bir'am, Kefar Bar'am,
Kefr Bir'im, Kefr Berein,

Excavations: A.S. Hiram, 1950s (restored).

Amiran, Ruth

1954 " " *EI* 3:178-81. [Heb]

1956 A Fragment of an Ornamental Relief from Kefar Bar'am *IEJ* 6:239-245.

Chiat, M.J.

1982 **HANDBOOK** pp. 27-31. [B1,I-2]

Conder and Kitchener

1881 **SWP** I:230-34.

Frey, J.B.

1972 *CIJ* [Publishing info?] Rome, #975. [Fr]

Goodenough, E.R.

1953 **SYMBOLS** I:201-203, III:511-515.

Hüttenmeister, F. and C. Reeg

1976 **DAS** pp. 31-34. [Ger]

Kaplan, J.

1976 Kefar Bir'am **EAEHLe** III:705.

Klein, Samuel

1920 **JPCI** pp. 79f.

Klengel, Horst

1972 **The Art of Ancient Syria** [Publisher?] New York p. 165.

Kohl, and C. Watzinger

1916 **ASG** pp. 89-100.

Masterson, E. W. G.

1909 **Studies in Galilee**. Chicago: University of Chicago. pp. 24, 16, 18, 116-118.

Robinson, Edward
1853 " " **ZDPV** 7:42. [Ger]

Sukenik, E.L.
1934 **ASPG** pp. 24-26.

Wilson, Charles
1869 " " **PEFQSt** 1:37-42.

Yeivin, S.
1936 " " **BJPES** 3:227-21. [Heb]

Beit Jimal [080]

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Excavations: French School 1916-1917.

1903 " " **RB** 12:12-14. [Fr]

1932 " " **QDAP** 2:149.

Avi-Yonah, Michael
1976 "Churches: Beit Jimal" **EAEHLe** 1:306.

Abel, F.M.
1919 " " **RB** 28:244-8. [Fr]

Gisler, M.
1917 **Das Heilige Land** [Publishing info?] p. 18ff. fig. [Ger]

1923 **Kaphargamala** München-Gladbach, [Gk]

Mallon, A.
1922 " " **Biblica** 3:502-507. [Fr]

Ovadia, A.
1970 **CORPUS** p. 28.

Beit Sha'ar [081]

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Excavations: L.H. Vincent, French School 1902.

Avi-Yonah, M.

1932 " " **QDAP** 2:149.

1976 Churches: Deir Sha'ar **EAEHLe** I:306.

Ovadia, A.

1970 **CORPUS** pp. 28-29.

Vincent, L.H.

1903 " " **RB** 12:612-614.

Beth Alpha [005, 006]

-Beit Ilfa, Bet Alfa, Bet Ilfa, Hephzibah, Kibbutz
Hephzibah,

Excavations: N. Avigad & E. Sukenik 1929,
Israel Dept. of Antiquities 1962.

1951 Archaeological News **'Alon** 3:14, Plate iv,3. [Heb]

1937 " " **SEG** 8:#93.

1964 Biq'aat Beth Shean **Proceedings of the 17th Convention of the Israel Exploration Society** Jerusalem. pp. 63-70. [Heb]

Avigad, N.

1962 **The Beth Shean Valley** [Publishing info?] pp. 63-70, pl. iv-a, v, vii-2.

1970 Beth Alpha **EAEHL** I:37-39, 190.

1976 Beth Alpha **EAEHLe** I:187-190.

Avi-Yonah, M.

1933 " " **QDAP** 2:144f [mosaics, inscription]

- 1934 " " **QDAP** 3:50f.
- 1944 " " **QDAP** 10:138.
- 1952 **In the Days of Rome and Byzantium** [publishing info?] Plate vii. [inscription]
- 1962 **HGP** p. 182. [Heb]
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1939 *Chronique: Découverte d'une Synagogue a Beit Alpha* **RB** 39:265-272, Plates xxi-xiv. [Fr] [general description, mosaic]
- Braslavy, Y.
1964 *Hayada'ta Ha-Aretz* Jerusalem, [publisher?]. pp 248-296. [Heb]
- Chiat, M.J.
1980 Synagogue and Church Architecture in Byzantine Beit Sh'ean **JJA** 7:6-24. (mosaic, architecture and plan, esp. pp. 13-19).
- 1982 **HANDBOOK** pp. 121-127. [B4:1-1]
- Epstein,
1929/39 " " *Tarbiz* 1/2:117. [Heb]
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1933 *Riv a di Archeologia Christiana* 10:287-305 [It]
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1965 **The Sacred Portal** Wayne State University Press, Detroit, New York. pp. 20, 23-30 [re: Stage II]
- Goodenough, E.R.
1953 **SYMBOLS** Vol I:241-253, Vol. III, figs. 632-635, 638-641.
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1977 The Zodiac In Ancient Jewish Art: Representation and Significance **BASOR** 228:61-77. December [Stage II]

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1962 *Die Entwicklung der Antiken Synagogen und altchristlichen Kirchenbauten Heiligen Lande. Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19:12. [Ger]
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1977 Bet Alfa *DAS* 1:44-50. [Ger]
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1960 *Frühe Mosaiken* UNESCO. [Ger]
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1952 Some Recent Archaeological News from Israel *PEQ* 84:46. [mention only]
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1939 " " *Sefer Ha Yissuv* 12, Plates II, 3, III. [Heb]
1950 " " *Toldot* p. 27f, 265f. Plates xiii. [inscriptions]
1967 **Geography and History of Galilee from the Return from Babylonia to the Conclusion of the Talmud.** Completed by Y. Eliitzur. Jerusalem. pp. 110, Plate viii [Heb]
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1973 **The Second Commandment** [Publishing info?] p. 76f.
- Krauss, S.
1930 " " *Revue des études juives* 89:405-408. [Fr]
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1967 Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives, *Cahiers de la Revue Biblique*. J. Gabalda (ed.) Paris. #77. [inscriptions] [Fr]
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1930 " " *BASOR* 37:13-17.
- Mersky,
1970/71 " " *Tarbiz* 70:376-384. [Heb., Eng. summary]
- Negev, A.
1967 " " *EI* 8:200 [menorah] [Heb]

- Press, I.
1933 " " **BJPES** p. 23f Plate II [Torah Shrine] [Heb]
- 1951 **A Topographical-Historical Encyclopaedia of Palestine Jerusalem**, [publisher?], Jerusalem 1:74, Plates 5.
- Renov,
1954 " " **BIES** 18:198-201. [Heb., Eng. Summary]
- Saller, J.
1972 **SRCAS** #17.
- Schwabe
1929/30 " " **Tarbiz** 1/3:137-140. [Heb]
- Segert,
1955 " " **Archiv Orientální** 23:261. [It]
- Sukenik, E.L.
1929/30 " " **Tarbiz** 1,2:111-116. [Heb]
- 1930 " " **Bericht Über die Hundertjahrfeier, Archäologisches Institute des Deutschen Reiches** 21-25:285-389. April. [Ger]
- 1934 **ASPG** pp. 6, 31ff, 48, 58ff, 65, 76f. [Stage II]
- 1931 Designs of the Torah Shrine in Ancient Synagogues in Palestine **PEQSt** pp 23f, Plate II.
- 1932 **The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha: An Account of the Excavations conducted on Behalf of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem** Oxford University Press, London, Jerusalem. [photos and drawings]
- 1949 The Present State of Ancient Synagogue Studies **BULLETIN** 1:11f.
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- Sonne, I.
1953 The Zodiac Theme in Ancient Synagogues and in Hebrew Printed Books" **Studies in Bibliography & Folklore** 1:3-13. [zodiac]
- Stein
1956 " " **l'Oeil** 21:15-19. [zodiac] [Fr]

- Yeivin
1945/46 " " **BJPES** vol?:20-24. [Heb]
- Watzinger, C.
1930 " " **Der Morgan** 6:365-367. [Ger]
- 1935 " " **Denkmäler** II:114-116. [Ger]
- Wischnitzer, C.
1854 " " **BIES** 18:193-197. [Heb., English summary] [mosaic]
- 1955 " " **Jewish Social Studies** 17:133-144.

Beth Guvrin [082, 083]

-Beit Jibrin, Beit Jibrin, Beit Jitbrin,
Beit Gebrin, Eleuteropoli, Mahatt el Urdi,
Bet Gibrin, Bet Jibrin, Beth Gouvvin,
Beth Govrin, Beth Gouvrim, Beth Govrin
Beth Guvvin, Bethgabra, Eleutheropolis,
Beit Jebail, Beit Jebail, Bet Giblin, Gibelin,
el-Maqerqesh.

Not to be confused with (Tell Sandahannah, Maresha [135], Maresh,
Mareshah, Mareshah, Marisa, Tel Maresha, Tell Sandakhanna)
located 2 km. S. of Beth Guvvin.

- Excavations: D.C. Baramki, 1941/42 [#82]
L.H. Vincent and French School, 1921-24 [083]
F.M. Abel and N. Makhouly 1927. [083]
- Albright, W.F.
1942 Two Cressets from Marissa and the Pillars of Joachin and Boaz
BASOR 85:18-27. figs. 1-10. [Tombs at Marisa]
- 1960 **The Archaeology of Palestine** Peter Smith Publisher Inc.
Gloucester, Mass. pp. 152-153. fig. 51.
- Avi-Yonah, M.
1970 Bet-Guvvin **EAEHL** [Heb] pp. 39-42. figs.
- 1976 Beth Govrin **EAEHL** I:194-197. [constantine villa, chapel, mosaics].

- Avi-Yonah, M. and S. Yeivin
1955 **The Antiquities of Israel.** [Publisher?] Tel Aviv [Heb].
- Bagatti, B.
1972 *Il cristianesimo ad Eleuteropoli (Beit Gebrin)* **Liber** 22:108-129. figs. 1-8. [It]
- Baramki, D.C.
1972 A Byzantine Church at Mahatt el Urdi, Beit Jibrin 1941-1942. **Liber** 22:130-152. figs. 1-18.
- Ben-Arieh, Y.
1962 Caves and Ruins in the Beth Govrin Area **IEJ** 12:47-61. figs. 1-3, pls. 7-8. [chalk quarries]
- Clermont-Ganneau, C.
1896 **RAO** 2:440-451. figs. [Fr]
- Iliffe, J.H.
1933 Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Museum **QDAP** 2:121-122.
- Kitzinger, E.
1965 **Israeli Mosaics of the Byzantine Period.** [Publishing info?] pp. 7,8,16,19,23, pls. 4,5.
- Masterman, E.W.G.
1926 Beit Jibrin and Tell Sandahannah **PEFQSt** p. 176-185.
- Moulton, W.J.
1915 An Inscribed Tomb at Beit Jibrin **AJA** 19:63-70, 3 figs. 5 pls.

1923 A Painted Christian Tomb at Beit Jibrin" **AASOR** 2/3:95-102. figs. 1-6, front, pls. 1-6, front, pls. 1-4.
- Ovadia, A.
1970 **CORPUS** p.31.
- Ovadia, Ruth
1974 Jonah on a Mosaic Pavement at Beth Guvrin **IEJ** 24(3/4):214-215.
- Spijkerman, A.
1972 The coins of Eleutheropolis Iudaeae **Liber** 22:369-384, pls. 1-4.

Sukenik, E.L.

1930 A Synagogue Inscription from Beit Jibrin **JPOS** 10:76-78, pl.6.

1934 Beit Jibrin **ASPG** p. 72. [inscription].

1935 Beit Jibrin **The Ancient Synagogue at el-Hammeh: An Account of the Excavations Conducted On Behalf Of The Hebrew University**, [publisher?] Jerusalem, p. 42, 46, 61.

Watzinger, C.

1935 " " *Denkmäler Palästinas* 2:12, 17-20. [Ger]

Beth Ha-Shita [084, 085]

-

Excavations: U. Aharoni, 1952

1953 Notes and News: Beth Ha-Shita **IEJ** 3:266.

Aharoni, Y.

1953/54 " " *Yediot* 11:209-215. Figs. 1/2. Pls. 1,2,7,8. [Heb]

Avi-Yonah, M.

1957 " " *Actes* p. 122. [It]

Leibovitsch, J.

1953 " " **CNI** 4(2/3):30. pl. 3,1.

Ovadia, A.

1970 **CORPUS** p. 32.

Beth Se'arim [007, [008]

-Beth Se'arim, Esh-Sheik Ibreik, Sheikh Ibreiq
Sheikh Abreiq, Besara, Beth'arei, Beth Sh'arein

Excavations: Condor and PEF 1871, B. Mazar and JPES 1936-1940, N. Avigad and IES, Heb U., 1953-55

1962 " " *HA* 4:1-3. [Heb]

1963 " " **HA** 5:9-10. [Heb]

Avigad, Nahman

1954 Excavations at Beth She'arim 1983, Preliminary Report
IEJ 4:88-107. [oil press, gate, catacombs 12-14]

1955 " " **EI** 4:85-103 [Heb]

1959 " " **EI** 5:171-188 [Heb]

1961 " " **EI** 6:61-67 [Heb]

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Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.

Avigad, N. and B. Mazar (Maisler)

1955 Excavations at Beth She'arim 1954: Preliminary Report **IEJ** 5:205-239. [necropolis, tombs, catacombs 15-18]

1957 Excavations at Beth She'arim 1955: Preliminary Report **IEJ** 7:239-255. [wall, catacomb 19]

1959 Excavations at Beth She'arim 1958: Preliminary
Report **IEJ** 9:205-220. [Catacomb 20,21, Shaft Tombs]

1970 Beth She'arim **EAEHL** 1:86-88. [Heb]

1976 Beth She'arim **EAEHLe** 1:229-237.

Avi-Yonah, Michael

1970 Beth Shean **EAEHL** 1:102.

Ben-Hayim

1955 " " **BIES** 29:106, fig. iv. [Heb., Eng. summary].

Ben-Zvi,

1935 **The Book of the Samaritans** [publisher?] Jerusalem 2 vols. repr.
1970. [Heb] pp. 200-201.

1955 " " **BIES** 19:105. fig. iv. [Heb., Eng. summary]

Biran,

1963 " " **CNI** 14(1):18. Plates i,ii.

- Braslavy, Y.
1964 *Ha Yada'ta Ha Arez*, [Publishing info] pp. 218-278, 249, 268, 295-296. [Heb]
- Chiat, M.L.
1982 **HANDBOOK** pp. 70-75. [B2,I-2]
- Goodenough, E.R.
1953 **SYMBOLS** I:208-211, III:535,545.
- Guerin, V.
1880 *DGHA* I:397. [Fr]
- Hüttenmeister, L. and C. Reeg
1977 *DAS* I:68-71. [Ger]
- James,
1970 Beth Shean **EAEHL** I:71. [Heb]
- Kaplin,
1941/42 " " **BJPES** 9:113f. [Heb]
- Kirk, G.E.
1946/47 Archaeological Activities in Palestine and Transjordan **PEQ** 78/79:92-102 (esp. p. 97).
- Klein S.
1939 *Sefer Ha Yissuv*. [publishing info?] p. 18. [Heb]
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- Mazar (Maisler), Benjamin
1937 " " **BJPES** 4:79-82, 117-118. [Heb]
- 1938 " " **BJPES** 5:49-71. [Heb]
- 1938/39 " " **BJPES** 6:101-103, 178. [Heb, Eng. summary]
- 1940 " " *Qedem* I:66-76. [Heb]
- 1941/42 " " **BJPES** 9:5-7, 11-16. [Heb., Eng. summary]

- 1942 Notes and News **QDAP** 9:196-198, 212.
- 1944 " " **QDAP** 10:212-215, 196.
- 1956 News and Notes: Beth She'arim **IEJ** 6:261-262.
- 1973 **Beth She'arim: Report on Excavations During 1936-1940, Catacombs 1-4** Vol. I. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.
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- 1951 **A Topographical-Historical Encyclopaedia of Palestine**, [publisher?], Jerusalem. vol. I:105f.
- Schwabe, M.
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- 1941/42 " " **BJPES** 9:27-30. [inscriptions] [Heb]
- 1954 Greek Inscriptions found at Beth She'arim in the Fifth Excavation Season" **IEJ** 4:249-261. [Catacombs 12-14]
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- 1967 **Beth Se'arim: Report on Excavations During 1936-1940, Catacombs 1-4** Vol. II:90-94, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.
- 1974 **Beth Se'arim: The Greek Inscriptions** vol. II:189-198, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.
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- 1949 The Present State of Ancient Synagogue Research **BULLETIN** I:16f.
- Tsori, N.
- 1954 " " **BIES** 18:270-171. figs. xii. [Heb., Eng. summary]
- 1962 **The Beth Shean Valley**. [Publication info?] p. 187.
- Yeivin,
- 1941/42 " " **BJPES** 9:69-76.
- Zvi,
- 1970 Beth Shean **EAEHL** I:76-77.

Beth Shean [009, 010, 011, 012, 013, 086, 087, 088]

- Beisan, Besan, Beshun, Tell el Husn, Beth She'an
Bisin, El-Hamman, Mastaba, Scythopolis, Tell
Istaba, Tell Mastaba.

Excavations: N. Tsori, 1950 (Tel Mastaba)

Dan Bahat, A. Druks, M. Edelstein, 1970-72, 1974.

Fitzgerald, 1921-23

_____ ? 1959 (monastery)

1962 " " **HA** 4:1-3. [Heb]

1963 " " **HA** 5:9-10. [Heb]

1956 " " **IEJ** 6:65.

Avi-Yonah, M.

1970 Beth Shean **EAEHL** p. 207.

Ben-Zvi

1955 " " **BIES** 19:105, iv. [lamp inscription] [Heb]

1935 **The Book of the Samaritans**. Repr. 1970 [publisher?] Jerusalem.
[Heb]

Biran, A.

1963 " " **CNI** 14(1):18. Plate I,II.

Braslavy

1964 **Hayada'ta**. pp.249, 268,, 295-296. [Heb]

Chiat, Marilyn

1980 Synagogues and Churches in Byzantine Beit She'an. **JJA** 8:6-24.

1982 **HANDBOOK** pp. 128-135. [B4,I-3].

Crowfoot,

1941 **ECP** p. 99. [round church]

- Fitzgerald, G.M.
1931 **Beth Shan Excavations 1921-1923: The Arab and Byzantine Levels.** Philadelphia [publisher?].
- Goldman, B.
1966 **The Sacred Portal** Chicago, Wayne State University, pp. 33, 63 (n. 43), 96-97, 167 n.7. [incense stand]
- James
1970 "Beth Shean" **EAEHL** p. 71.
- Reeg, G.
1977 **DAS** II:571-577. [Ger]
- Saller,
1972 **SRCAS** #16.
- Tsori, N.
1954 " " **BIES** 18:270271, xii [Heb, Eng. summary] [lamp inscription]
- 19__ The Ancient Synagogue at Beth She'an **Eretz Israel** 8:149-167. Plate 27-34. [Heb, Eng summary]
- 1962 **The Beth Shean Valley.** [Publishing info?] p. 187.
- 1963 Notes and News: Beth Shean **IEJ** 13:148-149.
- 1966 The House of Kyrios Leontis at Beth Shean **IEJ** 16:123-134.
- 1970 " " **Qad** 3:67-68. [Heb] [excavations]
- 1970 Beth Shean **EAEHL** I:207-228, esp. 225-228. [architecture, lamp inscription] [Heb].

Beth Yerah [014, 089, 090, 091, 092]

-Khirbet el Karak, Khirbet Al-Karak, Hirbet Karak, As-Sinnabra, Philoteria

Excavations: P. Delougas, R.C. Haines, H. Cantor, 1952-53, 1963-76
B. Mazar (Maisler), M. Stekelis, I. Dunayevsky 1944-45
Stekelis, Dunayevsky and M. Avi-Yonah, 1945
P. Bar-Adon, P. Guy 1949-1955

Avi-Yonah, M.

1957 " " *Actes* 22 (2):121 [It]

1962 **HGP** p. 139.

Bar-Adon, P.

1950/51 "Notes and News: Beth Yerah" **IEJ** 1:250. [E. Byz apsidal bldg, mosaic]

1953 Notes and News: Bêt Yerah **IEJ** 3:132. [Bronze Age Fort wall, Hellenistic houses]

1954 Notes and News: Beth Yerah **IEJ** 4:128-129. [canaanite town, synagogue]

1955 Notes and News: Beth Yerah **IEJ** 5: [Upper city].

1956 " " *EI* 4:50-55. [Heb].

1958 Ten Years of Archaeology In Israel **IEJ** 8:62.

1971 A Possible Fortified Synagogue at Beth Yerah **International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies** ol. VII:185.

Chiat, M.J.

1982 Beth Yerah **HANDBOOK** pp. 305-307. [G8, I-1]

Delougaz, P. and R.C. Haines,

1960 **A Byzantine Church of Khirbet al-Kerek** University of Chicago Press, Oriental Institute Publication #85.

Goodenough, E.R.

1953 **SYMBOLS** I:263. [mosaic]

Hestrin, Ruth

1976 Beth Yerah **EAEHL** I:253-264.

Hüttenmeister, L. and C. Reeg

1977 Bet Yerah **DAS** I:72-73. [Ger].

Leibovitch, J.

1953 " " **CNI** 4(2/3):31.

- Maisler, B.
1952 Archaeology in the State of Israel **Biblical Archaeologist** 15:22.
(mention).
- Maisler (Mazar) B., M. Stekelis and M. Avi-Yonah
1952 Excavations at Beth Yerah (Khirbet el Karak) 1944-1946 **IEJ** 2:165-173. [Bronze Age to Hellenistic period remains]
- 1952 Excavations at Beth Yerah (Khirbet el Karak) 1944-1946 **IEJ** 2:165-173. [Ro therms, BA remains, fort]
- Ovadia, Asher
1970 **CORPUS** p. 40, Plan 26d, Plate 14.
- Saller, J.
1972 **SRCAS** #76.
- Yeivin
1960 **Decade of Archaeology in Israel**. Istanbul, [Publisher?]. p. 46 [Heb]
- 1955 **Archaeological Activities in Israel. 1948-1955**. [Publication info?] p. 9.

Bethany [093, 094]

-Beit Hananya, Beit 'Anuja, El- 'Eizaruja,

Excavations: J. Saller, 1949-1953

Finegan, Jack

1969 **Archaeology of the New Testament** Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. #114, pp. 93-95.

Loffreda, S.

1969 *Due Tombe a Betania presso le suore della Nigrizia* **Liber** 19:349-366. figs. 1-6. [It]

1974 *La tomba n.3 presso le Suore della Nigrizia a Betania* **Liber** 24:142-169. figs. 1-9, pls. 1-6. [It]

Ovadia, A.

1970 **CORPUS** p. 29.

- Saller, Sylvester J.
 1951 " " **Annual, Department of Antiquities of Jordan** 1:44.
- 1953 " " **Annual, Department of Antiquities of Jordan** 2:82-83.
- 1957 **Excavations at Bethany (1949-1953)**. Jerusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. p. 9-33. [It]

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Khirbet Sumaq [068]

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Khirbet Semmaka, Khirbet Sumaz, Khirbet Semmâka,
Khirbet Summaka, Khirbet Summak, Summak, Summaka

Excavations: Kohl & Watzinger, 1916

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Khirbet Susiya [046]

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- Khirbet Sousieh, Khirbet Susiyye, Khirbet Susiyeh,
- Khirbet Susiyah, Khirbet Susiye, Khirbet Susiye,

Surveys: L. Mayer, A. Reifenberg, 1937

Excavations: Z. Yeivin, S. Guttman, E. Netzer, 1970-1971

Negev, Abraham

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Excavations: R.A.S. MaCallister, 1899

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Khirbet Umm Jarrar [133]

- Khirbet Garait, Umm Jarrar, Khirbet Gararit

Excavations: F.M. Drake, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1917

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Kokav ha Yarden [047]

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Kokav al-Hawa, Kokav Hayarden,

Excavations: -

Biran,

1968 " " **CNI** 19(3/4):39.

Ben-Dov, Meir

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Korazim [048]

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Horvat Karaza, Karaze, Khirbet Karaza,
Khirbet Karazeh, Korazim, Korazin

Survey: V. Guérin, H.H. Kitchener, 1897 (?)

Excavations: Kohl & Watzinger, 1905-1907
N. Makhoul, J. Ory, Dept. of Antiquities, 1926
Z. Yeivin, 1962-1963

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Ma'on [049]

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Nirim,

Excavations: R. DeVaux, 1937

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Excavations: V.T. Tsferis, 1974
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Maresha [135]

- Mareisha, Maresh, Mareshah, Mareshah, Marisa, Marissa, Tel Maresha, Tell Sandahannah, Tell Sandakhanna, Khirbet Sandahanna

- Not to be confused with Beth Guvrin, located 2 km N.

Survey: Clermont & Ganneau, 1974
Condor & Kitchener, PEF, 1875

Excavations: F.J. Bliss and R.A.F. MacCallister, 1900

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Excavations: F. de Saulay, 1851, C.R. Condor, 1875, A. Schulten, 1932, A.V. Domaszewski, 1909 [roman camps], S. Guttman, 1953, A.M. Livnek, Z. Meshel, 1953, M. Avi-Yonah, et als. 1956, Y. Yadin et als. 1063-1965
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- Meiron
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GLOSSARY

acanthus: Architectural ornament, resembling the leaves of the acanthus plant, typical ornament of corinthian style capital.

acropolis: A citadel or elevated part of a greek city.

acroteria: Blocks on the lower edges of the pediment which support statuary or decoration.

aedicula: A frame formed by a pair of columns, piers or pilasters supporting a gable, a lintel or a plaque; small structure used to decorate a niche which might contain a statue; miniature shrine.

architrave: Triangular shaped portion of entablature; gable; pediment.

Akedah: (Heb.) Biblical account of the binding of Isaac, describing God's command to Abraham to offer Isaac, the son of his old age, as a sacrifice. Divine intervention prevented consumation at the last moment.

ambo: pulpit

anagnostes: (gk.) Reader, officer in liturgical performance.

apse: a curved recess, often semi-circular, opening to the interior but often projecting into the exterior from one end of a building.

archisynagogos: 1) administrative head of the synagogue, 2) head of a guild or company. Talmudic evidence suggests that the *archisynagogos* was responsible for regulating religious services, designating preachers or readers from the Pentateuch and inviting strangers to address the congregation. The same office apparently also functioned as liaison between community and government authorities.

architrave: a lintel in stone or timber carried from the top of one column or pier to another, the lowest member of the entablature.

aron qodesh: (Heb.) "Holy ark" in the temple and in the tabernacle, refers to a "closet" or "box", meaning the cupboard for the storage of revered objects; in the synagogue, these objects included the Torah scrolls.; LXX, Chrysostom = (gk.) *kibotos*; *aron* may refer to the columns of the aedicula which sheltered the scrolls.

ashlar: cut stone masonry.

astragal: convex moulding: e.g. the head and reel, often part of a lintel ornament.

atrium: the forecourt of the cult building, usually enveloped by four colonnaded porticoes.

attic base: column base with two large rings of convex moulding of which the upper ring has a smaller diameter than the lower, and between the two rings is found a spreading concave moulding. The lower end of the shaft terminates in a roundel, above which is a vertical fillet followed by a sharp inward curve.

basilica: an assembly room with longitudinal form and composed of nave and aisles, the former lit by a clerestory.

basket capital: a capital of hemispherical or nearly hemispherical shape, decorated with a wicker design imitating a basket.

bema: the chancel part of the synagogue or church, usually a raised platform.

beth din (Heb., court) in rabbinic sources, the Jewish court of law.

beth kneset (Heb. house of assembly) The building for public assembly commonly associated with prayer and reading. Before 70 C.E. known only from literary evidence. Treated as synonymous with the synagogue; "assembly", "meeting."

beth midrash (Heb. house of interpretation) in rabbinic tradition, the academy in which midrashic study took place,

bucranium: an ox head or ox skull in relief used as decoration, often on a lintel and often combined with garlands, or rosettes. Sometimes a bull, calf or a "cow".

cantharus (pl. cantharii): Basin for holding holy water.

cathedra: the throne of the bishop in church or "seat of Moses" in synagogue.

chancel screen: A rail separating the clergy, choir or bema from the main part, or nave, of a church or synagogue.

chorepiscopus: one who has charge over the chorus, choir leader, conductor.

cohen: (Heb.) priest. see "levite".

colonnade: a row of columns supporting an entablature.

Comes: attendant of magistrates, especially a member of the Roman imperial cabinet.

conch: a semicircular niche surmounted by a half dome, often occurring as a decorative relief.

confessio: a subterranean chamber or recess located below or near the altar and sheltering a relic.

Consul: title of two annual magistrates exercising supreme authority in the Roman republic.

corinthian capital: one of the three Grecian orders; bell-shaped capital with rows of acanthus leaves.

crypt: a chamber or vaults partially or completely underground, whose entry is from the nave or chancel, usually containing graves or relics.

cyma: ogee moulding of cornice in a double continuous curve, concave below passing into convex above: an s-shaped moulding.

diaspora: collective term for all Jewish communities outside Palestine.

diaconicon: (gk.) a room attached to or enclosed in the church utilized for the reception of offerings and serving as archive, vestry and library; sacristy.

domus ecclesiae: (gk.) a house serving the religious, administrative and charitable needs of a congregation: a community centre.

episcopus: (gk.) (latin-*Episcopus*) overseer, an officer charged with the duty of seeing that things to be done by others are done rightly, curator, guardian, superintendent, overseer, head of any Christian church.

ethrog: a citron used in the Sukkot holiday rituals.

euchariston: (gk.) from Eucharistia meaning giving thanks, structure associated with the Holy Eucharist, baptism?

eukterion: (gk.) Belonging to or devoted to prayer, a chapel, oratorium, oratory.

flagstone: Flat stones used for pavement

fret: An ornament consisting of straight lines intersecting at right angles. Frequently seen in a swastika pattern and its variations.

frieze: The middle member of an entablature, often enriched with relief sculpture.

geniza: A depository for sacred books; archive/

guilloche: two or more intertwining bands with circular spaces in the center; a form of interlace.

halakhah: (Heb. law, practice, rule, adopted opinion) Referring to sections of the Talmudim and subsequent rabbinic literature, which deal with practical, legal exposition of Mosaic law. A traditional law or traditional interpretation of Torah, in which the results are not necessarily stated in Scripture, but are derived from it and given Biblical authority.

hazzan: Presenter who intones the liturgy and leads the prayers in the synagogue: in earlier times a synagogue official.

Helios: the solar deity, equipped with arrows (figuratively, the sun's rays). As one who saw and heard everything, Helios was called upon to witness oaths. In the story of Phaethon, Helios was described as a charioteer drawn by a team of four fiery steeds, traversing the sky by day from east to west and heralded by Eos, the Dawn, who rode her carriage in front of his. During the late Roman empire, he is associated with cult of Apollo and named Sol Invictus. He became in many ways its principal deity.

in situ: referring to an archaeological find, the artifact is found in the original place where it was used by the last ancient user.

ionic capital: a capital of the ionic order decorated with volutes.

institution: a significant and persistent element (as a practice, relationship--an organization) in the life of a culture that centers on a fundamental human need, activity or value, occupies an enduring and cardinal position within the society and is usually maintained and stabilized through social regulatory agencies.

kiyor: laver or basin for holy water

kurkar: (Heb.) gravel or rubble used in wall construction

laver: basin or cistern for washing.

levite: a member of the tribe of Levi, especially of that part of it which provided assistants to priestly worship of the Jewish temple.

lintel: the horizontal timber or stone over a door or window.

lulab (Heb. shoot) palm branch, one of the "four species" used in Sukkot rites.

mar/mara: saint.

martyrium: a site which signifies events or persons important to a religious tradition; may shelter the grave of a reputed martyr; the structure erected over such a site.

meander: ornamental pattern of tendril-and-vine, sometimes confused with fretwork. Rinceau.

medallion: a decorative panel or tablet often enclosing a motif or inscription.

menorah: (Heb. lampstand) branched lampstand used in the tabernacle and temple to hold the candles lit during ritual observance. It was later applied to the Hanukkah candelabrum.

miqveh: (Heb. collection of water) A pool or bath of clear water, in which immersion renders an individual ritually clean.

Mishnah: earliest codification of Jewish oral law, ca. 200 C.E.

monazonton: (gk.) anchorite; hermit; person of secluded habits.

nomina sacra: (lat. "holy name"), equivalent in reference field to tetragrammaton.

naos: (gk. chancel) architecturally and liturgically the core and sanctuary of a Byzantine centrally-planned church, i.e. the parts reserved for the performance of the liturgy; cella.

narthex: the transverse vestibule either preceding nave and aisles as an inner narthex (esonarthex) or preceding aisles as an inner narthex (exonarthex); the exonarthex may also serve as the terminating transverse portico of a quadriportico (atrium with four surrounding colonnades).

ovolo: A convex moulding of which the section is a quarter circle (or approximately a quarter); ellipse receding from the vertical; quarter-round, echinus; sometimes equivalent to "egg-and-dart".

parnas: Head of a community, usually an elected office.

pastophory, pastopheria: A pair of rooms (see also diaconicon, prothesis) serving as preparatory and storage space and usually flanking the apse.

pediment: Triangular piece of wall above the entablature; fills in and supports the sloping roof. "Gable-roof."

peristyle: The colonnade around the inside of a court or room; rarely used for an external colonnade.

pier: A mass of masonry from which an arch springs.

pilaster: A rectangular column.

portico: Porch; usually colonnaded with a roof supported on one side by columns (see narthex).

presbyter. (gk. elder, senior) One who manages public affairs and administers justice, one who presides over assemblies. Bishop, overseer, member of Sanhedrin.

propylaeum: The entrance-gate building of a sacred precinct.

prothesis: The room attached to or enclosed in the church and serving for the preparation and storage of the species of the Eucharist before Mass; generally used for the storage of the Eucharist after Mass.

pulvinated: A convex frieze.

quadriga: A chariot drawn by four horses, harnessed abreast.

rabbi: an expounder or interpreter of the Bible or Oral Law. From the Middle Ages on, a teacher, preacher and spiritual head of a community in which his livelihood was often derived from his function as rabbi.

rinseau. a scroll-like pattern of floral or plant design.

Shephelah: southern part of Palestine's coastal plain.

shofar: a ram's horn, or of any ritually pure animal except the cow, blown on the High Holidays and other important occasions.

solea: a raised pathway projecting from the bema to the ambo.

stoup: usually Scottish, basin placed inside the door of a church into which the patrons may reach to sprinkle themselves with holy water; cantharus.

stylobate: a continuous base of stone, raised above floor level, from which rise the supports of the building, whether columns or piers.

synthronon: bench or benches reserved for the clergy; arranged either in a semicircle (sometimes amphitheatrically) in the apse or in straight rows on either side of the bema.

syrian arch: flat lintel with semi-circular relieving arch.

tabula ansata: rectangular or square tablet in mosaic or in stone prepared as a background for an inscription or other motif. See medallion.

tell: an artificial mound produced by successive layers of occupation.

tenemos: a sacred precinct usually enclosed within a wall.

terracotta: objects made of baked clay which are small solid, and functional; durable but easily replaced material for hearths, kilns and roof tiles.

tetraconch: a building which has four conches.

Theotokos: the Virgin, referring to Mary, mother of Jesus.

titulus: in the city of Rome, a *domus ecclesiae*.

torus: a three dimensional rounded convex moulding used principally in the bases of columns. Imitated in two dimensions to create a simple form of guilloche.

transept: the transverse unit of a basilica; usually inserted between nave and apse; it may be undivided (continuous transept) or may form nave and aisles, its axis may be perpendicular and discontinuous to the main body (cross transept) or it may consist of a central bay with full size wings separated from the central bay by colonnades (tripartite transept) or with narrow wings, (dwarf transept).

trefoil: three-lobed ornamentation.

triconch: a building composed of three conches.

triconch transept: a transept with wings terminating in apses.

twin cathedral. a cathedral of two halls or basilicas, their axes placed, usually, parallel to each other, the structures served different functions, as yet not fully understood.

UPGMA: Unweighted pair group clustering method using arithmetic averages. A cluster analytical technique automated in the most recent Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS-X).

voussoir. one of the wedge-shaped blocks making up an arch.

zodiac: a pictorial representation of the sectors of the celestial sphere, divided into twelve equal parts and ornamented with astrological signs. Often arranged in the form of a wheel.

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